THE AGE OF LOUIS XV.

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LOUIS XV.

Being the Sequel of the Age of

LOUIS XIV.

Tranſlated from the French of

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed for G. KEARSLY at No. 1, in
Ludgate-ſtreet.

M.DCC.LXX.

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THE

AGE OF LOUIS XV.

CHAP. I.

The State of EUROPE, *on the Death of* LOUIS XIV.

LOUIS the fifteenth was left an orphan, at a time when it would have been too tedious, difficult and dangerous to aſſemble the general eſtates of the kingdom, to regulate the pretenſions made to the regency. The parliament of Paris had already given it

to the two queens; they gave it now to the duke of Orleans. They had ſet aſide the teſtament of Louis XIII; they now ſet aſide that of his ſucceſſor Louis XIV. Philip, duke of Orleans, grandſon of France, was declared abſolute maſter by the very parliament, he ſoon after ſent into exile.*

In

* The author of the pretended memoirs of madam de Maintenon, and of the notes, inſerted by Beaumelle in his edition of the age of Louis XIV. publiſhed at Frankfort, has boldly advanced that the great-hall of the palace was, on this occaſion filled with officers, who had arms concealed under their clothes. This is not true; I was myſelf there, and ſaw many more lawyers than either officers or other people. There was not the leaſt appearance of party, much leſs of tumult. It had indeed been the greateſt folly to introduce partizans with con-

In order the better to comprehend by what blind fatality the affairs of the world are governed, it is neceſſary to re-

 mark

concealed arms, to irritate the minds of the people who were then univerſally diſpoſed in favour of the duke of Orleans. There was only a detachment of French and Swiſs guards on duty about the palace.

This ſtory of the great-hall's being filled with armed officers, is taken from the memoirs of the regency and the life of Philip duke of Orleans; contemptible productions printed in Holland and replete with falſehood.

The author of de Maintenon's memoirs tells us, that, "the preſident *Lubert*, the firſt preſident *de Maiſons* and many other members of "the aſſembly were ready to declare againſt "the duke of Orleans." It is true there was at that time a preſident *de Lubert*; but he was only preſident *aûx enquetes*, and did not trouble himſelf about the matter. He had never been

firſt

mark that, the Ottoman empire, which had been able to oppoſe that of Germany during the tedious war of 1701, waited

firſt preſident *de Maiſons*. It was *Claude de Meſmes*, by name *d'Avaux* who then filled that place. *M. de Maiſons*, brother-in-law to marſhal *Villars*, was preſident *à Mortier* and ſtrongly attached to the duke of Orleans. It was at his very houſe that the marquis of *Canillac* and ſome other confidents of the prince had ſettled the plan of the regency. To him alſo was promiſed the place of keeper of the ſeals; but he died ſoon after. Theſe are known facts to which I myſelf was witneſs, and which are recorded in the manuſcript memoirs of marſhal Villars.——The compiler of the memoirs of madam de Maintenon obſerves on this occaſion, that in the treaty of Raſtadt, entered into by marſhal Villars and prince Eugene, "there "were certain ſecret articles by which the duke "of Orleans was excluded the throne." This

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waited only for the concluſion of the general peace to make freſh war on Chriſtendom. Accordingly, in the year 1715, the Turks eaſily made themſelves

is falſe and abſurd; there was no ſecret article in the treaty of Raſtadt which was an authentic treaty of peace. Such ſecret articles are inſerted only in treaties among confederates, who are deſirous of concealing the tenour of their conventions from the publick. To exclude the duke of Orleans from the throne, would have been to give, in caſe of accident, the crown of France to Philip V. of Spain, competitor of the emperour Charles VI. with whom the treaty was made. This had been to deſtroy the edifice erected by the peace of Utrecht, to which the finiſhing ſtroke had been given; it would have been an inſult to the emperour and the deſtruction of the balance of power in Europe. Nothing can be more abſurd than this ſuggeſtion.

ſelves maſters of the Peloponeſe, which the celebrated *Moroſini*, ſurnamed the *Peloponeſiac*, had taken from them, toward the end of the ſeventeenth century, and which was allotted to the Venetians at the peace of Carlowitz. The Emperour, who was guarantee of that treaty, was hence obliged to declare himſelf againſt the Turks. Prince Eugene, who had formerly beaten them at Zante, paſſed the Danube, and gave battle, near Peterwaradin to the Grand Vizir Ali, favorite of Sultan Achmet the third; and obtained a moſt ſignal victory.

The relation of particular circumſtances does not enter into a general plan of hiſtory. We cannot however omit here an account of the ſingular beha-

behaviour of a certain Frenchman, famous for his remarkable adventures. Count Bonneval, who, upon ſome diſagreement with the miniſtry, had quitted the ſervice of France, was then a major-general under prince Eugene, and happened in the courſe of the battle to be ſurrounded by a very numerous body of Janiſſaries. With the aſſiſtance only of two hundred men of his own regiment, he withſtood the attack of the Turks above a whole hour; and when he was at length ſo wounded by a ſpear as to be unable to ſtand, he was carried off by only ten ſoldiers to the victorious army.

This ſame man, at that time baniſhed from France, returned and was publickly married at Paris; ſome years

after which he betook himſelf to Conſtantinople, turned Muſſulman and died a Baſhaw.

The Grand Vizir Ali was mortally wounded in this battle; and as the manners of the Turks were not then civiliſed, he gave orders before his death for the maſſacre of a Chriſtian general who had been taken priſoner.

Prince Eugene beſieged Belgrade the following year, in which place was a garriſon of near fifteen thouſand men. At the ſame time he found himſelf beſieged by an innumerable army of Turks; who advanced toward his camp and entrenched themſelves around him. Finding himſelf in the ſame ſituation as Cæſar at the ſiege of Aleſia, he extricated himſelf in the ſame manner, by firſt beat-

beating the enemy in the field, and then taking the town. His army was in the moſt imminent danger of deſtruction, but military diſcipline triumphed over ſuperior numbers and undiſciplined valour.

This prince carried his glory to the higheſt pitch by the peace of Paſſerowitz; which gave Belgrade and Temeſwaer to the emperour; while the Venetians, for whoſe ſake the war originally commenced, were abandoned and irretrievably loſt their poſſeſſions in Greece.

The face of affairs took no leſs a change among the Chriſtian potentates. The union and good underſtanding ſubſiſting between France and Spain, which had appeared ſo formidable, and had ſo much alarmed the ſeveral ſtates

of

of Europe, were broken the moment Louis XIV. had cloſed his eyes. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, tho' irreproachable with regard to his ſolicitude for the ſervice of his pupil, behaved as if he himſelf ought to ſucceed to the throne. He entered into a ſtrict alliance with England, the reputed natural enemy of France; and came to an open rupture with the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Bourbon. On the other hand, Philip the fifth who had renounced the crown of France by the peace, excited, or rather lent his name for exciting tumults in France; becauſe he was not inveſted with the regency of a country, where he could not reign. Thus all the views and negotiations of the ſeveral powers, with their whole ſyſtem of family politicks, under-

underwent a total change on the death of Louis XIV.

Cardinal Alberoni, firſt miniſter of Spain, took it into his head to overturn the whole political ſtate of Europe, and was very near accompliſhing his end. He had in a few years put the finances and troops of the Spaniſh monarchy on a reſpectable footing; for which he now formed the project of recovering the iſland of Sardinia, in the hands of the emperour; and that of Sicily, of which the dukes of Savoy had been in poſſeſſion ever ſince the peace of Utrecht. He was going to change the conſtitution of England; in order to prevent any oppoſition to his deſigns from that quarter; and was on the point of raiſing a civil war in France, with a ſimilar view.

view. At the ſame time he was carrying on different negociations with the Porte, with Czar Peter the Great of Ruſſia, and with Charles the XIIth of Sweden. He was on the point of engaging the Turks to renew the war againſt the emperour; while Charles XII. in conjunction with the Czar, was in perſon to conduct the pretender into England and reſtore him to the throne of his anceſtors.

This intriguing cardinal effected an inſurrection in Brittany; and actually cauſed a number of troops, under the appearance of ſmugglers, to march, by the direction of one Colineri, to join the inſurgents. The conſpiracy of the ducheſs of Maine, cardinal Polignac and of many others, was ripe for execu-

execution; the intention was, if poſſible, to ſeize the perſon of the duke of Orleans; to deprive him of the regency, and to give it to Philip V. king of Spain. Thus cardinal Alberoni, formerly the curate of a petty village near Parma, would have been at once prime-miniſter of France and Spain, and have given an entire new face to all Europe.

A ſimple accident diſſipated all theſe vaſt projects. A courtezan at Paris betrayed the conſpiracy, which the moment it was diſcovered became uſeleſs. The king of Sweden, who was to have placed the pretender on the throne of England, was killed in Norway. Alberoni had prepared himſelf ſo many reſources, however, that ſome part of his pro-

projects began to take effect. The fleet he had fitted out, made a deſcent on Sardinia in the year 1717, and in a few days reduced it under ſubjection to Spain; ſoon after which, he reduced in like manner almoſt all Sicily in 1718. But Alberoni, not being able to ſucceed either in preventing the Turks concluding a peace with the emperour Charles VI. or in exciting the intended civil wars in France and England, ſaw at once the emperour, the regent of France, and king George I. all united againſt him.

The regent of France, in concert with the Engliſh, made war on Spain; ſo that the firſt war undertaken by Louis XV. was againſt his uncle; whom Louis XIV. had at the expence of ſo much blood

blood eſtabliſhed on his throne; which was in fact a kind of civil war. The king of Spain had taken care to have the three flowers-de-luce painted on all the colours of his army. The duke of Berwick, who had fought and won ſo many battles to gain him the crown, now commanded the French army againſt him; while the duke of Liria his ſon was a general officer in the Spaniſh ſervice. On this occaſion the father exhorted his ſon, in a very pathetic letter, bravely to diſcharge his duty againſt himſelf. The abbé Dubois, afterwards cardinal, like Alberoni, a child of fortune and equally ſingular in character, being then ſecretary of ſtate, directed the whole enterprize.

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The Engliſh fleet, at this time obtaining a victory over that of Spain near Meſſina, the ſchemes of cardinal Alberoni were all diſconcerted; and this miniſter, who but ſix months before was admired as the greateſt ſtateſman in the world, was looked upon ever after as a raſh and inconſiderate projector. The duke of Orleans would not make peace with Philip V. but on condition of his delivering up this miniſter, which was accordingly done, and the French troops conducted him to the frontiers of Italy.

It was the ſame Alberoni who, being afterwards legate at Bologna and having no opportunity to ſubvert kingdoms, employed his leiſure in attempting to ruin the little republic of St. Marino.

From

From the reſult of all his great deſigns however it proved, that Sicily was given to the emperour Charles VI. and Sardinia to the dukes of Savoy, who have poſſeſſed that iſland ever ſince, and now bear the title of kings of Sardinia. But the houſe of Auſtria have ſince loſt the iſland of Sicily.

Theſe public events are ſufficiently known; but what follows, and is equally true, is not ſo.

This is, that when the regent of France wanted to make it a condition of the peace, that his daughter mademoiſelle de Montpenſier ſhould marry the prince of Aſturia, don Louis, and that the infanta of Spain ſhould be given in marriage to the king of France, he could not effect his deſign without

applying to the jeſuit Aubanton, confeſſor of Philip V. This jeſuit prevailed on the king of Spain to conſent to this double marriage; but it was on condition that the duke of Orleans, who had declared himſelf againſt the jeſuits, ſhould become their protector, and ſhould cauſe the Conſtitution to be regiſtered. The duke promiſed both, and kept his word. Such are often the ſecret ſprings of great revolutions both in church and ſtate.

This affair was managed ſolely by the abbé Dubois, intended archbiſhop of Cambray, and in effect procured him his cardinal's hat. He cauſed the bull to be implicitly regiſtered by the grand council, or rather in ſpite of the grand council, by the princes of the blood,

the dukes and peers, the marſhals of France, the counſellors of ſtate, the maſters of the requeſts, and particularly by the chancellor d'Agueſſeau himſelf, who had ſo long oppoſed its acceptance. This abbé Dubois obtained even a recantation from cardinal de Noailles; the regent of France finding himſelf, by this intrigue, connected for ſome time in the ſame intereſts with the jeſuit Aubanton.

Philip V. began to be attacked by a melancholy, which joined to his devotion, led him to renounce the cares of a throne, and to reſign his crown to his eldeſt ſon don Louis; a deſign which he afterwards put in execution in the year 1724. This ſecret he imparted to Aubanton; who trembled

to think he ſhould loſe all his power, when his penitent ſhould be no longer maſter; and that he ſhould be reduced to follow him into ſolitude.

Alarmed with theſe apprehenſions he revealed to the duke of Orleans the confeſſion of Philip V. not doubting but that prince would exert himſelf to the utmoſt, to prevent the king of Spain's abdication. The regent had different views; and was ſatisfied with the proſpect of ſeeing his ſon in-law a king; and a jeſuit, who had ſo much controuled his inclinations in the affairs of the Conſtitution, no longer in a ſituation to preſcribe him conditions. He ſent back Aubanton's letter therefore to the king of Spain. That monarch very coolly preſented it to his confeſſor;

who immediately fainted at the ſight and died in a ſhort time afterwards.*

* This fact is atteſted in the civil hiſtory of Spain, written by Bellando, and printed by expreſs permiſſion of the Spaniſh court. It ſhould be to be found in the library of the Cordeliers at Paris. The reader may turn to page 306, part the fourth. I have now the copy before me. This perfidy of Aubanton, of a ſpecies more common than is generally imagined, is well known to more than one of the Spaniſh grandees, who confirm it.

CHAP. II.

The Regency of the DUKE *of* ORLEANS, *and the Syſtem of the famous* LAW.

NOTHING could be more aſtoniſhing to the ſeveral courts of Europe, than to ſee ſome time after, in the years 1724 and 1725, Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly ſo embittered againſt each other, ſtrictly united; the courſe of political affairs taking ſo different a turn from their natural channel, that the Spaniſh miniſtry directed the court of Vienna for the ſpace of a whole year. This court, whoſe intention had ever been to prevent the houſe of Bourbon having acceſs

acceſs into Italy, ſuffered itſelf to be ſo far diverted from its former views, as to receive Philip V. and Elizabeth his ſecond wife into the very country, from which it had been hitherto deſirous of excluding both the French and Spaniard. The emperour conferred on the youngeſt ſon of his competitor, the inveſtiture of Parma, Placentia and the grand duchy of Tuſcany; and, notwithſtanding there was no vacancy in the ſucceſſion of thoſe eſtates, don Carlos took poſſeſſion of them with about ſix thouſand Spaniards, and at the expence of about two hundred thouſand piſtoles; which the court of Spain remitted to Vienna.

This errour in politicks committed by the emperour, was not one of thoſe which

may

may be called fortunate; on the contrary, it coſt him very dear in the ſequel. Every thing was ſtrangely contradictory in this coalition; it was an union between two houſes at mutual enmity, who placed no confidence in each other. The Engliſh, who had done every thing in their power to dethrone Philip V. and had taken from him Gibraltar and Minorca, were the mediators of this treaty. Ripperda, a Dutchman, now become a Duke and all-powerful in Spain, was the perſon who ſigned it; for which he was afterwards degraded, and retired to end his days in the kingdom of Morocco; where he attempted to eſtabliſh a new religion.

In the mean time the regency of the duke of Orleans, which his ſecret ene-

enemies and the general diſorder of the finances might naturally have rendered the moſt factious and turbulent, had proved, on the contrary, the moſt peaceable and happy. That habit of obedience, which the French nation had aſſumed under Louis XIV. was at once the ſecurity of the regent and of the public tranquility. The conſpiracy, projected at a diſtance by cardinal Alberoni and badly conducted in France, was ſuppreſſed almoſt as ſoon as formed. The parliament which, in the minority of Louis XIV. had cauſed a civil war about the diſpoſal of a dozen places in the court of requeſts, and had annulled the teſtaments of Louis XIII. and XIV. with leſs formality than they would have done the will

will of an obſcure individual, had hardly the liberty of making remonſtrances when the nominal value of the coin was raiſed to thrice its former ſtandard. The ſolemnity of their walking from the Great-hall to the Louvre, afforded only matter of raillery to the people. The moſt unjuſt edict that ever was made, that of reſtraining every inhabitant in the kingdom from keeping above five hundred franks in ready money by him at a time, excited not the leaſt emotion. The total want of current ſpecie for the uſe of the public; a whole people preſſing in crouds to an office, to receive the money neceſſary to procure the conveniencies of life, in exchange for notes univerſally cried down and yet univerſally diſtributed; the preſſing

ſing to death a number of citizens in the crowd and the exhibition of their dead bodies before the palace-royal; none of theſe circumſtances produced the leaſt appearance of ſedition. In ſhort even the famous project of Law, which ſeemed calculated to ruin at once the regency and the ſtate, was in fact the ſupport both of one and the other; and that by conſequences which nobody had foreſeen.

That avidity, which was excited among perſons of all conditions, even from the very loweſt of the people up to magiſtrates, biſhops and princes, diverted their minds from all attention to public good, or the political views of ambition; by engroſſing them wholly with the fear of loſs and the hope of gain. It was a new and extraordi-

nary

nary kind of play, in which the whole people were engaged one againſt another. The gameſters were too eager to lay down their cards to diſturb the repoſe of government. It even happened, by means of a deluſion, the ſprings of which are viſible only to the moſt clear and experienced eyes, that this ſcheme, chimerical as it was, gave birth to real commerce, and was the cauſe of the revival of the Eaſt-India company; which had been ſet on foot by the celebrated Colbert, and ruined by the ſucceeding wars. In a word, tho' a number of private fortunes were ſacrificed, the nation preſently became more rich and commercial. This great project enlightened the minds of the people, juſt as a civil war improves their courage.

It was an epidemical diſtemper, that ſpread itſelf from France into Holland and England; and is well deſerving the attention of poſterity. It was not the political intereſts of two or three princes, that in this caſe involved whole kingdoms in confuſion. It was the people themſelves who ran precipitately into a folly, that enriched ſo many families at the expence of others, whom it reduced to beggary. The origin of this phrenzy, preceded and followed by ſo many others, was this.

A certain Scotchman, named John Law, a man who had no other profeſſion than that of a gameſter and calculator of chances, having been obliged to fly his country for a murder, had long ſince formed the plan of a com-

company, that might pay off the debts of the ſtate, and reimburſe it by its own profits. This plan was very complicated; but, confined within proper bounds, might have been made very uſeful. It was an imitation of the bank of England and its Eaſt-India company. He propoſed its eſtabliſhment firſt to victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, afterwards king of Sardinia; who rejected it, ſaying, he was not powerful enough to ruin himſelf. He propoſed it next to the comptroller-general des Marets; but this was during an unſucceſsful war, when public credit was at an end, which was the baſis of the ſyſtem.

At length, he found every circumſtance favourable under the regency of

of the duke of Orleans; the French nation had a debt of two hundred millions to diſcharge; the peace had left the government at leiſure, and both prince and people were fond of novelties.

In 1716 he eſtabliſhed a bank in his own name, which ſoon becoming general, he united it with the Miſſiſſippi company; from whoſe commerce at that time people were given to expect great advantages. Seduced by the allurements of gain the public bought up the joint ſtock of the company and bank with great avidity.

The wealth of the kingdom, which had been long confined in private hands, in diſtruſt of public credit, now circulated in great profuſion; the notes hence

hence iſſued increaſing that wealth in a double, a quadruple degree. France was in fact enriched by credit; while all ranks of people indulged themſelves in a luxury, which extended even to her neighbours who took part in this kind of commerce.

The bank was declared royal in 1718, and took upon it the management of the trade to Senegal. It acquired alſo the privileges of the old Eaſt-India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert; which had ſince come to decay and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo. At length it engroſſed the farming of the national taxes. Every thing was now in the hands of the Scotchman Law, and the finances of the whole kingdom depended on a trading company.

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This company appeared indeed to be eſtabliſhed on ſuch vaſt foundations, that its ſtock mounted to above twenty times its original value. The duke of Orleans undoubtedly committed a great fault in leaving the publick thus to itſelf. It would have been eaſy for government to give a check to this frenzy; but the avarice of the courtiers and the hopes of profiting by this diſorder prevented the putting a ſtop to it. The frequent riſe and fall of the company's ſtocks afforded an opportunity for obſcure perſons to make immenſe fortunes; many of them becoming in a few months as rich as princes.

Even Law himſelf, deceived by his own ſcheme and intoxicated with the

publick folly as well as his own, had fabricated ſo many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds in 1719 exceeded fourſcore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom. Even the government at this time paid all its annuitants in paper.

But the regent ſoon found himſelf incapable of managing ſo immenſe and complicated a machine, the rapidity of whoſe motion bore it away and rendered it abſolutely ungovernable. The late financiers and the great bankers in conjunction exhauſted the royal bank, by drawing on it for conſiderable ſums. Every one wanted to convert his notes into ſpecie; but the diſproportion was enormous. Credit dropt all at once; the regent made

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an attempt to raiſe it by iſſuing arrets, that effectually cruſhed it in its fall. Nothing was offered in payment but paper; ſo that a real poverty began to ſucceed a profuſion of imaginary riches.

It was juſt at this criſis the office of comptroller-general of the finances was given to Law; a criſis at which it was impoſſible he ſhould fulfil the duties of it. This was in the year 1720, the æra of the ruin of all the private fortunes of individuals and of the finances of the kingdom.

In a ſhort time after he was converted from a Scotchman into a Frenchman, by naturalization; from a proteſtant into a catholic; from a mere adventurer into a lord poſſeſſed

of a noble fortune; and from a banker into a miniſter of ſtate.

I ſaw him myſelf paſs through the galleries of the palace royal, followed by dukes and peers, marſhalls of France and biſhops of the Gallican church.

Diſorder and confuſion were at the utmoſt height. The parliament of Paris made what oppoſition it could to theſe innovations, and was baniſhed to Pontoiſe.

But Law himſelf, loaded with the public execration, was the ſame year obliged to fly the country he had attempted to enrich and had entirely ruined. He went off in a poſt-chaiſe that was lent him by the duke of Bourbon Conde, taking with him only about two thouſand pounds, almoſt the whole that remained of his tranſitory opulence.

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The libels of thoſe times accuſed the regent, of having engroſſed all the money of the kingdom, to ſerve the purpoſes of his ambition; tho' it is certain he died above ſeven millions of livres in debt.

Law was accuſed of having ſent the French ſpecie out of the kingdom, for the ſake of his own emolument. It is yet certain that he lived ſometime at London on the liberality of the marquis de Laſſay and died at Venice in a ſtate little removed from indigence. I ſaw his widow at Bruſſels as much reduced and humbled, as ſhe had formerly been proud and haughty in Paris. Such inſtances of reverſe of fortune are not the leaſt uſeful objects of hiſtory.

During theſe tranſactions the plague had committed great ravages in Provence. The nation was at war with Spain. Brittany was on the point of rebellion. Conſpiracies were formed againſt the regent; notwithſtanding all which, he carried every point he aimed at, with hardly any trouble, both at home and abroad. The kingdom was in ſuch a ſtate of confuſion, that every thing was to be dreaded; and yet this was the reign of pleaſure and luxury.

It was neceſſary, after the failure of Law's project to reform the ſtate; to this end an account was taken of the ſituation of the private fortunes of individuals; an enterprize not leſs extraordinary than the project itſelf.

This

This was indeed the greateſt and moſt difficult atchievement in the finances, as well as of public juſtice, that was ever attempted in any nation. It was begun toward the end of the year 1721; being planned and conducted by four brothers *, who had never before had any thing to do in public affairs; but whoſe genius and application deſerved to be truſted with the fortune of the nation.

They begun their great undertaking, by eſtabliſhing a ſufficient number of offices for the maſters of requeſts and other judges; they then laid down a clear and preciſe method for diſſipating the chaos of confuſion before them. Five hundred eleven thouſand and nine perſons, moſt of them fathers

* Named *Paris*.

of families, brought their whole fortunes, on paper to this tribunal. All theſe numerous debts were liquidated to the amount of near ſixteen hundred and thirty-one millions of livres, chargeable on the ſtock. Thus ended this aſtoniſhing game of Chance, in which an unknown foreigner had engaged a whole nation.*

After

* The authors of the hiſtory of the regency and that of the duke of Orleans, talk of this great affair juſt as ignorantly as they do of all others. They ſay M. de la Houſſaie, comptroller-general, was chamberlain to the duke of Orleans. Again they miſtake an obſcure writer, named La Jonchére, for La Jonchére, treaſurer at war. Such are the books, fabricated in Holland! You may find in the continuation of Bouſſet's univerſal hiſtory, printed in 1738 at Amſterdam, that the duke

of

After the demolition of this vaſt edifice, which Law had ſo raſhly erected, and which cruſhed its architect in its fall; there remained however among its ruins the Eaſt-India company; which became for ſome time a rival to thoſe of London and Amſterdam.

The madneſs of gaming in the ſtocks, which had ſeized the French, laid hold alſo of the Dutch and Engliſh. Thoſe who had obſerved the methods, by which ſo many private per-

of Bourbon-Condé, firſt miniſter to the duke of Orleans, built the caſtle of Chantilly with the profits he made by the Miſſiſſippi funds. You will find there alſo, that Law had twenty millions in the bank of England. Juſt as many lies as lines!

perſons in France had rapidly built immenſe fortunes, on the credulity and poverty of the publick, carried to Amſterdam, Rotterdam and to London the ſame artifice and the ſame frenzy. It is with aſtoniſhment we ſtill ſpeak of thoſe mad times and the political plague attending them. And yet this, after all, was trifling in compariſon of the civil, and the religious wars, which had for ſo many years made a ſcene of blood of Europe; or indeed of thoſe national, or rather princely, wars, which have ſpread that ſcene of deſolation throughout the world.

There were ſharpers enow at Rotterdam and London to make a number of dupes. Companies were formed and

and imaginary commerce ſtruck out. Amſterdam, indeed, was ſoon undeceived. Rotterdam was for ſome time hurt; but London was totally undone in the year 1720.

From this frenzy which prevailed in France and England followed a prodigious number of bankruptcies, frauds, robberies, public and private; with every kind of depravation of manners that naturally reſulted from unlimited avarice.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Adminiſtrations of the Cardinals DUBOIS *and* FLEURY; *with the Abdication of* VICTOR AMADEUS.

WE muſt not paſs over in ſilence the miniſtry of cardinal Dubois. He was the ſon of an apothecary of Brive-la-gaillard, in the province of Limoſin. He ſet out in life with being tutor to the duke of Orleans; in which capacity, by adminiſtring to the pleaſures of his pupil, he gained upon his confidence. A ſmall ſhare of wit, a ſtrong turn for debauchery, great pliability, and above all a taſte like his maſter's for ſingularity,

larity, contributed to raiſe him an immenſe fortune. Had this cardinal prime-miniſter been a man of reſpectable character, this vaſt fortune would have excited the public indignation; but he was an object only of ridicule and contempt. The duke of Orleans diverted himſelf with his prime-miniſter, after the manner of that pope who made his favorite monkey a cardinal. All was mirth and pleaſantry during the regency of the duke of Orleans. The ſame ſpirit prevailed as in the time of the Fronde, ſo near to a civil war; it was the true ſpirit of the nation, which the regent revived after the mournful ſeverity of the laſt years of Louis XIV.

Car-

Cardinal Dubois * finiſhed his career in a courſe of debaucheries. On his death-bed he thought of an expedient to prevent his being fatigued with reli-

* The regent made cardinal Dubois prime-miniſter in 1722.

The compiler of Maintenon's memoirs tells us, that Louis XIV. having given a ſmall benefice in 1692, to this abbé Dubois then an obſcure perſon, ſaid of him that, "tho' he "loved women he formed no connections with "them, that tho' he tippled he never got "drunk, and tho' he gamed he never loſt his "money." Mighty pretty reaſons theſe for giving him a benefice. But where did this compiler come by this ſtory? Who but himſelf would make Louis XIV. talk in ſuch a manner? Did that monarch ever ſet eyes on Dubois in his life?—Beſides the abbé Dubois was neither a tippler nor a gameſter.

religious ceremonies; on which it was well known he ſet but little value. He pretended there was a particular ceremonial with regard to cardinals; who did not receive the ſacrament and extreme unction in the ſame manner as ordinary penitents. The curate of Verſailles accordingly left him, in order to inform himſelf of the mode of this ceremonial, and in the mean time Dubois died. We laughed at his death as we did at his adminiſtration: Such was the character of the nation.

At this time * the duke of Orleans took on himſelf the title of prime-miniſter; becauſe the king being now out of his minority, the regency was at an end; but he preſently after followed his friend the cardinal. The cha-

* In December 1723.

character of this prince, however, was irreproachable, except for his extravagant thirſt after novelty and pleaſure.

Of all the deſcendants of Henry IV. Philip of Orleans reſembled him moſt; being poſſeſſed of courage, good-nature, affability, ſprightlineſs, frankneſs, and eaſe, with an underſtanding highly cultivated. His countenance, tho' incomparably more pleaſing, bore a ſtrong reſemblance nevertheleſs to that of Henry IV. He took a fancy ſometimes to put on a ruff, and then he was the handſome likeneſs of Henry IV.

The duke of Bourbon Condé ſucceeded immediately to the miniſtry; the only court-intrigue he put in practice,

tice, being that, of having the patent drawn up without delay, and getting the king to ſign it, the moment he was informed of the duke of Orleans's death. But it was always the fate of the Condés to give place to prieſts. Henry de Condé was borne down by cardinal de Richelieu, the great Condé was impriſoned by cardinal Mazarin, and the duke of Bourbon was baniſhed by cardinal de Fleury.

If there ever was a happy man upon earth it was certainly cardinal de Fleury. Till he arrived at the age of ſeventy-three, he was eſteemed a man of the moſt amiable and ſocial diſpoſition; and when at that advanced period of life, at which ſo many old men retire from the world, he took upon him the care of government, he

was equally reſpected as the moſt ſagacious and prudent. From 1726 to 1742 every thing proſpered with him; ſtill preſerving, to almoſt ninety years of age, a clear head and an unimpaired capacity for buſineſs.

When one reflects that out of a thouſand contemporaries hardly one of them arrives at this age, one muſt confeſs the deſtiny of cardinal de Fleury to have been very ſingular. But tho' the ſingularity of his elevation be remarkable, in coming ſo late in life, its long uninterrupted duration, with the moderation of his temper and the urbanity of his manners rendered it no leſs ſo.

The riches and magnificence of cardinal d'Amboiſe, who aſpired to the

the popedom, are well known; as well as the arrogant ſimplicity of Ximenes who raiſed armies at his own expence, and dreſſed in the habit of a monk, boaſted that he led about the grandees of Spain by his hempen girdle. The royal pomp of Richelieu, and the prodigious wealth accumulated by Mazarin are well known. It remained for cardinal de Fleury to be diſtinguiſhed by Modeſty; by a conſtant and invariable rule of œconomy and ſimplicity. A want of dignity was the only defect in his character; a defect that ſprung from his virtues, which were candour, equanimity, and the love of peace and regularity. He gave the world a proof that mild and conciliating ſpirits are formed to govern the reſt.

He had as ſoon as poſſible got rid of his biſhoprick of Frejus; after having by his œconomy cleared it of its debts and had done a great deal of good by his peaceable diſpoſition. Theſe were the two diſtinguiſhing parts of his character. The reaſon he gave to his dioceſans for giving up his paſtoral charge, was, that his ill ſtate of health prevented his paying due attention to the care of his flock. He had been fortunate enough however never to labour under any illneſs.

The ſee of Frejus, lying in a diſagreeable country at a diſtance from court, had always diſpleaſed him. He uſed to ſay that, the moment he ſaw his wife he was diſguſted at his marriage; and ſubſcribes a letter of plaiſantery

ſantery to cardinal Quirini, *Fleury, by the divine indignation, biſhop of Frejus.*

He reſigned this biſhoprick about the beginning of the year 1715. Marſhal de Villeroy, after many ſolicitations, prevailed upon Louis XIV. to appoint the biſhop of Frejus, preceptor to his grandſon, in the codicil of his will. The new preceptor expreſſes himſelf nevertheleſs, in a letter to cardinal Quirini, in the following terms:

" I have more than once regretted " the want of the ſolitude of Frejus. " On my arrival here, I heard the " king was at the point of death, and " that he had done me the honour " to appoint me preceptor to his " grandſon. Had his majeſty been

" in a ſituation to have given me
" audience, I ſhould have entreated
" him to ſpare me the weight of a
" burthen I tremble to bear. But
" after his death I could not be heard:
" I am weary of it, and find no conſo-
" lation for the loſs of my liberty."

He found comfort in forming the mind of his royal pupil inſenſibly for buſineſs and the duties of his elevated ſtation; preſerving amidſt all the agitations of the court during the minority, the good will of the regent and the eſteem of the publick. He ſought no occaſion to diſplay his conſequence; made no complaints of others; laid himſelf open to no refuſals, nor entered into any of their intrigues. But, while he ſecretly informed himſelf as well of the

the internal adminiſtration of the kingdom as its foreign politicks, he gave riſe, by his circumſpect conduct and amiable temper, to an univerſal wiſh among the people to ſee him at the head of affairs. This was the ſecond preceptor that governed France, although he contented himſelf with being abſolute, without aſſuming the title of prime-miniſter.

His whole miniſtry was leſs oppoſed and leſs envied, than thoſe of Richelieu and Mazarin, even in the moſt peaceable times of their adminiſtration. His promotion made no manner of change in his behaviour. It was indeed aſtoniſhing to ſee the firſt miniſter the moſt amiable and diſintereſted perſon about the court. The

welfare of the nation had long ſince required his ſpirit of peace and moderation; it depended on thoſe pacific meaſures he naturally approved; ſo that the foreign miniſters imagined they would never be changed ſo long as he lived.

He quietly left the kingdom to repair its former loſſes, and enrich itſelf by an immenſe trade; without making any innovations; but treating the ſtate like a ſtrong and robuſt body to recover itſelf * at leiſure.

Poli-

* In ſome foreign books, I find cardinal de Fleury miſtaken for abbé Fleury, author of the hiſtory of the church and of thoſe excellent diſcourſes, which precede that hiſtory. This abbé Fleury was confeſſor to Louis XV. But he lived

Political affairs returned insensibly to their natural channel. Happily for Europe the first minister in England, Robert Walpole, was of a like peaceable character; and contributed with him to maintain that repose, which almost all Europe enjoyed from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733; a repose that was disturbed but once by the transitory hostilities of the year 1718. This was an happy interval for all the European nations; who, cultivating arts and commerce at pleasure, soon forgot all their past calamities.

During

lived at court unknown and in obscurity. He was possessed of real modesty; the other Fleury had the modesty of artful and enterprizing ambition.

During this interval there arose two powers, of which Europe had not heard the name before the present century. The first was that of Russia, which had just emerged from Barbarism under Peter the great. This power consisted only, before his time, of immense deserts, and of a people without laws, without discipline, and without knowledge, like the Tartars. It was indeed so little known to France that, when Louis XIV. received the Moscovite Ambassador in the year 1668, that event was celebrated by the publication of a medal, in the same manner as was that of the ambassador of Siam.

This new empire began to have an influence over all political affairs, and even

even to give laws to the North, after having humbled the power of Sweden.

The ſecond power, raiſed by art and eſtabliſhed on leſs extenſive foundations was that of Pruſſia; whoſe forces have been long preparing, but have not yet diſplayed themſelves.

The houſe of Auſtria was nearly in the ſame ſituation as that in which the peace of Utrecht had left it. England preſerved its power at ſea, while Holland had ſuffered hers to go to decline. The latter, powerful only by the leſs induſtry of other nations, fell to decay, becauſe her neighbours carried on that trade themſelves of which ſhe had been miſtreſs. Sweden was in a languiſhing ſtate. Denmark flouriſhed

riſhed; and Spain and Portugal ſubſiſted on their returns from America. Italy, always weak, was divided into as many different ſtates as it had been at the beginning of the century, excepting Mantua, become now the patrimony of Auſtria.

Savoy exhibited at this time a remarkable example to the world and an intereſting leſſon to ſovereigns. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, ſometimes the ally and at others the enemy of France and of Auſtria; he whom uncertainty had impoſed on the world as a politician, tired of buſineſs and of himſelf, in the year 1730, at the age of ſixty-four, capriciouſly abdicated his crown, tho' the firſt of his family that had worn

worn it; of which abdication he as capriciouſly repented a year afterwards. The ſociety of a miſtreſs now become his wife, devotion and idleneſs could not ſatisfy a mind that had been for fifty years paſt engaged in the affairs of Europe. He diſplayed fully the weakneſs of human nature, and how difficult it is to gratify the heart either with or without the throne.

No leſs than four ſovereigns have in this age abdicated their thrones; Chriſtina, Caſimir, Philip V. and Victor Amadeus. Philip V. reſumed the government againſt his inclination. Caſimir never thought of it. Chriſtina was inclined to it for ſome time, on account of ſome affront ſhe had ſuffered at Rome. Amadeus alone took

took a reſolution to remount by force that throne which his diſquiet had occaſioned him to quit. The conſequence of this reſolution and attempt is well known. His ſon Charles-Emanuel would have acquired a glory far above that of kings, in reſtoring to his father the crown he received at his hands, on his ſimple demand; if the circumſtances of the times had permitted; but it was ſaid that an ambitious miſtreſs only was deſirous of reigning; ſo that, to prevent the fatal conſequences, the whole council were compelled to cauſe the very man to be arreſted who had been their ſovereign. He died ſoon after in priſon. It is falſe, that the court of France would have ſent twenty thouſand men, to protect the father againſt the ſon,

as

as was reported in the memoirs of thoſe times. Neither the abdication of this king, his attempt to regain the ſceptre, his impriſonment, nor his death, cauſed the leaſt emotion in the neighbouring nations. It was a terrible event attended with no conſequences. A general peace prevailed even from Ruſſia to Spain, when the death of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, elector of Saxony, replunged Europe in thoſe diſſentions and miſfortunes from which it is ſeldom exempted.

CHAP. VI.

STANISLAUS LESKINSKI *twice King of* POLAND *and dethroned.——The War of* 1734; *and the Re-union of* LORRAIN *to* FRANCE.

KING Staniſlaus, brother-in-law to Louis XV. nominated to the throne of Poland in 1704, was choſen king in 1733 in the moſt legal and ſolemn manner. The emperour Charles VI. however, aſſiſted by the Ruſſians, cauſed the Poles to proceed to a new election. The ſon of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, who had married a niece of Charles VI. carried

ried the election againſt his opponent. Thus the houſe of Auſtria, which wanted the power to keep Spain and the Weſt-Indies, and even to eſtabliſh a trading company at Oſtend, had the credit of depriving the brother-in-law of Louis XV. of the crown of Poland; a circumſtance ſimilar to what had happened to the prince de Conty, who was in like manner ſolemnly elected; but, having neither money nor troops, and being better recommended than ſupported, was compelled to abandon the throne to which he had been invited.

King Staniſlaus went to Dantzick, in order to ſupport his election. But the majority which had choſen him, preſently yielded to the minority that oppoſed him. This country, in which

the people are ſlaves; in which the nobility meanly ſell their votes; in which there is no money in the public treaſury to ſupport an army; in which the laws are without force, and in which liberty only produces diſſentions; this country, I ſay, vainly boaſts a warlike nobility who can bring an hundred thouſand cavalry into the field.

The numerous body of them, that appeared in favour of Staniſlaus, vaniſhed at the ſight of ten thouſand Ruſſians. The whole Polish nation, which had, an age before, looked upon the Ruſſians with contempt, were now intimidated and directed by them. The empire of Ruſſia was become formidable ſince it had been new modelled by Peter the great. Ten

thou-

thouſand diſciplined Ruſſian ſlaves diſperſed all the nobility of Poland; while king Staniſlaus, ſhut up in the city of Dantzick was beſieged by an army of the ſame nation.

The emperour of Germany, in alliance with the Ruſſians, was confident of ſucceſs. To have made the balance equal, France ſhould have tranſported a numerous army by ſea, to the ſupport of Staniſlaus; but England would not have ſilently looked on, had ſhe made ſuch preparations. Cardinal de Fleury, who then managed the Engliſh, ſought to avoid both the diſgrace of entirely abandoning king Staniſlaus, and the hazard of ſending a great body of troops to his relief. He ſent him therefore a little ſquadron of tranſports, with about fifteen hundred men

under the command of a brigadier. This officer could not conceive his commiſſion ſerious; but thinking when he approached Dantzick that he ſhould only make a fruitleſs ſacrifice of his ſoldiers, returned and put into Denmark. Count de Plelo, the French ambaſſador at Copenhagen, looked with indignation upon this retreat, which he conſidered as humiliating to his nation. He was a young man, who with the ſtudy of philoſophy and the belles-lettres had united heroic ſentiments worthy of a better fortune.

He reſolved to ſuccour Dantzick with this little troop, or periſh in the attempt. Before he embarked he wrote a letter to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate; which ended thus. "I am

"certain

"certain I ſhall never return: I recom-
"mend to you my wife and chil-
"dren."

He arrived in the road of Dantzick, diſembarked and attacked the Ruſſian army; in which enterprize he fell, as he had foreſeen. His letter arrived with the news of his death.

Dantzick was taken, and the French ambaſſador at the court of Poland made priſoner of war, notwithſtanding the privileges of his character. Even king Staniſlaus ſaw a price ſet on his own head by count Munich the Ruſſian general, in the city of Dantzick, in a free country, in his native land, in the midſt of a nation who had elected him to the throne under all the forms of legal ſolemnity. He was obliged to diſguiſe himſelf in the habit of a

ſailor, and eſcaped with great difficulty and danger from the hands of the enemy.

It is to be obſerved here that this ſame count Munich, who ſo cruelly perſecuted Staniſlaus, was ſometime after baniſhed to Siberia, where he reſided twenty years in extreme indigence, to make his appearance at court afterwards with the greater eclat. Such are the viciſſitudes of human greatneſs!

With regard to the fifteen hundred Frenchmen, who had been ſo imprudently ſent againſt an army of Ruſſians, they made an honourable capitulation: But a Ruſſian ſhip being ſoon after taken by a French man of war, they were ſent to Peterſburg and detained priſoners. They might reaſonably ex-

pect

pect to be treated with inhumanity among a people who had been looked upon as barbarians no longer ago than the beginning of the preſent century. But the empreſs Anne was then upon the throne; who treated the officers as if they had been ſo many ambaſſadors, and ordered cloaths and refreſhments to be given to the ſoldiers. This generoſity, unknown till then, was at at once the effect of that prodigious change which Czar Peter had brought about in the Ruſſian court, and a kind of noble vengeance which that court had a mind to take of thoſe diſadvantageous ideas, which the old national prejudice ſtill entertains of the Ruſſians.

The French government would have entirely forfeited the reputation ne-

ceſſary to the ſupport of its own dignity, had it failed to have reſented the outrage it had thus ſuffered in Poland. But the exertion of this reſentment would have been nothing, if not of public ſervice. The diſtance would not permit of its being directed againſt the Muſcovites; and policy directed it to fall on the emperour. It was indeed very effectually exerted in Germany and Italy; where the powers of France joined with thoſe of Spain and Sardinia. Theſe three potentates had their ſeveral intereſts; all concurring however to the ſame point, the weakening of the houſe of Auſtria.

The dukes of Savoy had, for a long time, been gradually extending their dominions; ſometimes by affording ſuccours to the emperours, and at

others

others by declaring againſt them. King Charles-Emanuel had entertained hopes of getting the Milaneſe; which was promiſed him by the miniſters of Verſailles and Madrid.

Philip the fifth of Spain, or rather his queen Elizabeth of Parma, deſired alſo a more conſiderable ſettlement for her children than that of Parma and Placentia. As to the king of France he had no other view than his own glory, the humiliation of his enemies and the ſucceſs of his allies.

It was not at that time foreſeen that Lorrain would be gained by the War. Mankind in general are rather directed by events than events directed by them. Never was there a treaty more expeditiouſly concluded than that which united thoſe three potentates.

Eng-

England and Holland, long accuſtomed to declare for Auſtria againſt France, abandoned her on this occaſion. This was the effect of that reputation for equity and moderation which the French court had at that time acquired.

An opinion of its pacific and diſintereſted views, quieted its natural enemies even while it was in the midſt of a war; and nothing did greater honour to the French miniſtry, than its retaining ſuch a degree of credit, as to perſuade thoſe powers, that France might carry on a war againſt the emperour without endangering the liberty of Europe.—All other potentates looked with unconcern on the rapid ſucceſs of the French arms.—A French army were maſters of the field upon the

the Rhine, and the combined troops of France, Spain, and Savoy, were maſters of Italy, where marſhal Villars, who had been declared generaliſſimo of the French, Spaniſh and Piedmonteſe troops ended his glorious career at the age of eighty-four, ſoon after he had taken Milan.—Marſhal Coigni his ſucceſſor, gained two battles, while the duke of Montemart, the Spaniſh general, obtained a victory in the kingdom of Naples, at the town of Bytonto, from which he took a new ſirname.—Don Carlos who had been acknowledged hereditary prince of Tuſcany was preſently made king of Naples and Sicily. —Thus the emperour loſt almoſt every thing he had in Italy, for having troubled himſelf with erecting a king of Poland.—While a ſon of the king of

Spain,

Spain, in two campaigns, acquir'd the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which had ſo often been taken and retaken, and which the houſe of Auſtria had, for more than two centuries, made the conſtant object of her pretenſions.

This war in Italy is the only one that terminated with any real ſucceſs to the French ſince the time of Charlemaigne. The reaſon of it was, they acted in conjunction with the guardian of the Alps, who was become a moſt powerful prince of thoſe countries. They were beſides aſſiſted by the beſt troops belonging to the crown of Spain, and their armies were always plentifully ſupplied with proviſion.

The emperour thought himſelf happy to receive thoſe conditions of peace which the conquerors were now

pleaſed

pleaſed to grant him. Cardinal Fleury the French miniſter, whoſe policy had prevented England and Holland from taking part in this war, had alſo the addreſs to conclude an advantageous peace without their intervention.

By this peace don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. Europe being already accuſtomed to ſee kingdoms made the object of gift and exchange; to the emperour's intended ſon-in-law, Francis duke of Lorrain, was aſſigned the inheritance of the houſe of Medicis, which had been before granted to don Carlos.

On this occaſion the laſt grand duke of Tuſcany, being near his end, aſked if they would not give him a third heir, and what other new child the Empire and France intended to beget him:

Not

Not that the grand dutchy of Tuſcany conſidered itſelf as a fief of the empire, but the emperour looked upon it as ſuch as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the holy ſee, and for which the laſt duke of Parma had actually done homage to the pope: So vary the rights of princes with the times!—By this peace alſo, the dutchy of Parma and Placentia, which of birthright belonged to don Carlos, ſon of Philip the fifth, and a princeſs of Parma, were granted in full property to the emperour Charles VI. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who had fixed his eye on the Milaneſe, to which his family that had gradually raiſed itſelf had ſome old pretenſions, obtained only thoſe ſmall parts of it, the Novares,

the

the Tortones, and the fiefs of Langes. His pretenſions to the Milaneſe were founded on his deſcent from a daughter of Philip the ſecond king of Spain.—France had alſo her ancient pretenſions derived from Lewis the twelfth, the natural heir to this dutchy.—Philip the fifth had likewiſe his claims founded on the infeoffments renewed to four kings of Spain his predeceſſors. All theſe pretenſions however gave way to convenience and the public good. The emperour kept poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, that not being a fief, of which like others he ought always to beſtow an inveſtiture.—This was originally the kingdom of Lombardy, afterwards annexed to the empire; it at length became a fief under its viſcounts, and is at preſent a ſtate belonging to the emperour.

perour.—A ſtate diſmembered indeed, but which, in conjunction with Tuſcany and Mantua, render the imperial family ſtill very powerful in Italy.

By this treaty king Staniſlaus renounced the throne of Poland, which he twice aſcended without being able to maintain it. He retained indeed the title of royalty, but wanted another kind of indemnification, and that for the ſake of France more than for himſelf.—Cardinal de Fleury contented himſelf at firſt with the dutchy of Barr, which the duke of Lorrain was to yield to Staniſlaus with a reverſion to the crown of France; although Lorrain was not to be ceded till the duke was put in poſſeſſion of Tuſcany.—This was ſubjecting the ceſſion of Lorrain to many accidents, and profiting very little

little by the moſt ſignal ſucceſs and favourable conjunctures. Chauvelin, keeper of the ſeals, encouraged cardinal de Fleury to make a better uſe of his opportunity: He accordingly demanded Lorrain on the ſame conditions as the dutchy of Barr and obtained it. It coſt him only ſome ready money, and a penſion of three millions five hundred thouſand livres to duke Francis, 'till ſuch time as Tuſcany ſhould devolve to him.

Thus was Lorrain irrevocably reunited to the crown; a re-union which had often been attempted in vain. By this event a Poliſh king was tranſplanted into Lorrain, and that province was rendered happy in becoming, for the laſt time, the reſidence of a ſovereign prince. The reigning houſe of

the princes of Lorrain, was now inveſted with the ſupreme power in Tuſcany. And the ſecond ſon of the king of Spain was raiſed to the throne of the Two Sicilies. The motto on the medal of Trajan, *Regna aſſignata, Kingdoms given away*, was indeed very applicable to this period.

A profound peace prevailed among the Chriſtian potentates, if we except the growing diſputes between Spain and England concerning the trade of America. The court of France continued to be regarded as the arbitrator of Europe.

The emperor about this time declared war againſt the Turks, without conſulting the empire; in this war he was unfortunate; but was relieved by the mediation of Lewis XV. In 1739 M. de

M. de Villeneuve, the French ambaſſador at the Ottoman Porte, went into Hungary, to conclude with the Grand Vizir that peace, of which the emperor ſtood ſo much in need.

About the ſame time, the French quieted the Genoeſe, who were on the point of a civil war: They likewiſe appeaſed the Corſicans who had thrown off the Genoeſe yoke. The ſame miniſtry alſo put a ſtop to a civil war which had begun within the walls of Geneva.

But, above all, the king interpoſed his good offices between Spain and England, who had commenced a war which was likely to be more ruinous to both nations, than the rights for which they diſputed could be advantageous to either. The ſame court

had alſo employed its mediation in 1735, between Spain and Portugal: In ſhort, none of the neighbouring nations had reaſon to complain of France, whom they conſidered as their mediatrix and common mother. This glory and happineſs were of ſhort duration.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Death of the Emperor CHARLES VI. *The Succeſſion of the Houſe of* AUSTRIA *diſputed by four Potentates. The Queen of* HUNGARY *acknowledged in her Father's Dominions.* SILESIA *taken by the King of* PRUSSIA.

THE emperor Charles VI. died in the month of October 1740, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. If the death of Auguſtus II. king of Poland had occaſioned ſuch great commotions, that of Charles VI. the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, could not fail of producing many other revolutions. It

ſeemed neceſſary to divide the hereditary dominions of that houſe, which conſiſted of Hungary and Bohemia, both electoral kingdoms, but rendered hereditary by the Auſtrian princes; of Auſtrian Suabia, call'd Anterior Auſtria; of Higher and Lower Auſtria, conquered in the 13th century; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniole, Flanders, the four foreſt towns, Briſgau, Frioul, Tirol, the Milaneſe, Mantua, and the dutchy of Parma: In regard to Naples and Sicily, thoſe two kingdoms were already in the hands of don Carlos, ſon of Philip V. king of Spain.

Maria Thereſa, the eldeſt daughter of Chares VI. founded her pretenſions to her father's dominions, on the right of nature, on a pragmatic ſanction which had confirmed that right, and

on

on the guarantee of almoſt all the powers of Europe. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, claimed the ſucceſſion on the ſtrength of a will made by Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V.

Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, pleaded the claim of his wife, as being eldeſt daughter of Joſeph, the elder brother of Charles VI. The king of Spain founded his right to all the poſſeſſions of the Auſtrian family; on his being deſcended from the conſort of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. Lewis XV. might alſo have laid claim to the ſucceſſion, with as great a right as any of them, as he was deſcended in a direct line from the oldeſt male branch to the houſe of Auſtria, by the wife of Lewis XIII. and alſo by the wife of Lewis

XIV. but it was more agreeable to him to remain arbitrator and protector than to appear as a competitor; becauſe he could, in concert with one half of Europe, decide the ſucceſſion of the empire; but had he declared himſelf a competitor, all Europe would have been in arms againſt him. All the Chriſtian world, whether princes or ſubjects, ſeemed to take a part in this cauſe, in which ſo many crowned heads were concerned; nothing was expected but a general war. Politicians indeed were confounded to find the ſtorm begin, where it was leaſt expected.

A new kingdom had been eſtabliſhed at the beginning of this century; the emperor Leopald, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, claimed the privilege of creating kings; in conſe-

quence

quence of which, Ducal Pruſſia, was erected into a kingdom, in favour of Frederic William, elector of Brandenbourg. Pruſſia was at that time no better than a deſart; but Frederic William II. who was the ſecond king of that country, being poſſeſſed of talents ſuperior to thoſe of his cotemporaries, expended a large ſum of money, in clearing the lands, building villages and peopling them: He invited numbers from Suabia and Franconia; and brought 16,000 emigrants from Saltſbourg to ſettle in his territories, and furniſhed them with neceſſaries of all ſorts. While he was thus buſied in eſtabliſhing a new kingdom; by his œconomy, he became maſter of another ſpecies of power; every month he laid up in reſerve

40,000

40,000 German crowns, which in a reign of twenty-eight years amounted to an immenſe ſum of money. What money was not ſent to the treaſury, was employed in raiſing an army of ſeventy thouſand men, whom he diſciplined himſelf, but never employed. But his ſon Frederic III. took the advantage of thoſe preparations of his father. He foreſaw the general confuſion of the empire, and did not fail to reap the benefit of it. He laid claim to four dutchies in Sileſia. His fore-fathers had repeatedly renounced their pretenſions, becauſe they were unable to ſupport them; he found himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport his claim.

France, Spain, Bavaria and Saxony were already intereſted in the choice

of

of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria preſſed the French miniſtry to procure him at leaſt ſome part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. In his memorials he laid claim to the whole, but he dared not demand ſo much by his miniſters. In the mean time Maria Thereſa, who had married Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuſcany, took poſſeſſion of all the dominions which her father had bequeathed to her. She received the homage of the ſtates of Auſtria at Vienna on the ſeventh of November 1740. The provinces of Italy and Bohemia ſwore allegiance to her by their deputies; but above all, ſhe ingratiated herſelf with the Hungarians by taking the antient oath which king Andrew II. made in the year 1222.

If I, or any of my ſucceſſors, ſhall, at any time, infringe upon your privileges; by virtue of this promiſe, you and your deſcendants ſhall be allowed to defend yourſelves, and ſhall not be treated as rebels.

As the anceſtors of the archdutcheſs queen had always been backward in executing ſuch engagements, her taking the prudent ſtep already mentioned, greatly endeared her to the Hungarians. This people who had always been inclined to throw off the Auſtrian yoke, after two hundred years ſpent in ſedition, broils and civil wars, ſubmitted at once to the government of Maria Thereſa, whom they almoſt adored. Although the queen was not crowned at Preſburg 'till the 24th of June 1741, during the interval

interval ſhe was not leſs a ſovereign, ſhe was poſſeſt of a popular affability which her predeceſſors had ſeldom put in practice, and which gained her the hearts of her ſubjects; ſhe laid aſide that ceremony and haughtineſs, which render the acceſs to a throne diſagreeable, without making it more reſpectable. The archdutcheſs her aunt, who governed the Low Countries, had never condeſcended to eat with any of her ſubjects; on the contrary, Maria Thereſa admitted to her table all the ladies and and officers of diſtinction; ſhe converſed freely with the deputies of the ſtates; and as ſhe never refuſed to grant an audience, ſo ſhe contrived that nobody ſhould leave her diſcontented.

Her

Her firſt care was to inſure to her huſband the grand duke of Tuſcany, a ſhare in all her crowns under the title of co-regent, which ſhe did without diminiſhing her own ſovereign power, and without infringing the pragmatic ſanction; ſhe flattered herſelf in the beginning, that the dignities ſhe conferred on that prince would ſoon raiſe him to the imperial crown; ſhe forgot that ſhe had no money, and that her troops were very much diminiſhed and diſperſed through her extenſive dominions.

The king of Pruſſia made propoſals to her to yield up the Lower Sileſia, and in return for that territory, he offered her the aſſiſtance of his army, and five million of livres, to guarantee the reſt of her poſſeſſion, and to place her

her huſband on the throne of the empire. It was foreſeen by the moſt able politicians, that ſhould the queen of Hungary refuſe theſe offers, all Germany would be thrown into confuſion; but the blood of ſo many emperors which flowed in her veins, would not allow her to think of parting with any part of her hereditary eſtates; although ſhe was weak, ſhe was undaunted. The king of Pruſſia looking upon her power to be merely nominal, and conſidering that from the appearance of affairs he might ſoon expect to have allies, marched with his army into Sileſia, in the middle of December 1740.

It was propoſed to adorn his ſtandard with a device, *Pro Deo et Patria*; but he eraſed *Pro Deo*, ſaying, that it would be very improper to confound

the

the name of God with the quarrels of men, and that he was going to war for a province and not for religion. He then ordered the Roman eagle, diſplayed *in relievo*, and fixed on the top of a gilt pole, to be carried before his regiment of guards; this novelty of courſe rendered him invincible. When he harangued his army he adviſed them, in every thing, to imitate the antient Romans. Having entered Sileſia, he, in a ſhort time, ſubdued almoſt the whole of that province, of which he had ſo lately been refuſed a part; but ſtill nothing deciſive happened. General Neuperg came ſoon after into Sileſia with a body of Auſtrians to the amount of twenty-four thouſand, and forced the king of Pruſſia to engage with him at Molwitz,

near

near the river Neiſs. In this inſtance the ſuperiority of the Pruſſian infantry became conſpicuous; the cavalry was entirely routed by double the number of Auſtrian horſe, and the firſt line of infantry attacked in flank when the battle ſeemed to be irrecoverably loſt; all the royal baggage was pillaged, and the king himſelf in danger of being made priſoner, was conducted by his attendants to ſome diſtance from the field of battle. In the meantime, the 2d line of infantry ſtood immoveable, and recovered every thing by obſerving that diſcipline to which the Pruſſian ſoldiers are accuſtomed; their continual firing, diſcharging at leaſt five times in a minute, and by loading their guns with iron ramrods in an inſtant. Thus a victory was gained, which became the ſignal for a general war in Europe.

CHAP. VI.

The King of FRANCE *unites with the Kings of* PRUSSIA *and* POLAND, *to raiſe* CHARLES ALBERT, *Elector of* BAVARIA *to the Imperial Crown. That Prince is declared* Lieutenant-General *to the King of* FRANCE. *His Election, Succeſſes and rapid Defeats.*

ALL the powers of Europe believed that when the king of Pruſſia took Sileſia he was allied to France; they were miſtaken, but ſuch miſtakes frequently happen, when people build their opinions upon probabilities. The king of Pruſſia run a great riſk, as he himſelf confeſſed; but he could foreſee

ſee that the French would not ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of ſeconding his enterprize. The French intereſt ſeemed to oppoſe the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, and to favour their old ally the elector of Bavaria, whoſe, father had formerly loſt his all in their ſervice, in conſequence of the battle of Hocſtedt. The ſame elector, Charles Albert, had been impriſoned in his infancy by the Auſtrians, who had ſtripped him of every thing except the title of Bavaria. France found it for her advantage to revenge his cauſe; it appeared eaſy to procure him at once the empire, and part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion: By theſe means the new houſe of Auſtria-Lorrain would be deprived of that ſuperiority which the

former houſe always aſſumed over the other potentates of Europe, the antient rivalry ſubſiſting between the houſes of Bourbon would be extinguiſhed, and more might be done than Henry IV. and cardinal Richelieu, could ever have expected.

When Frederic III. was departing for Sileſia, he planned this revolution which was then without foundation. It is true, that he had not concerted any meaſure with cardinal Fleury; that the marquis de Beauveau, the French ambaſſador at Berlin, who came to compliment the new monarch, did not know, when he firſt ſaw the Pruſſian troops in motion, whether they were deſtined againſt France or Auſtria. His Pruſſian majeſty ſaid to him at parting:

parting: *I imagine I am going to play your game—if I throw aces, you muſt go halves* *.

This was only the beginning of a negociation, as yet at a great diſtance. The French miniſtry heſitated a long time, and cardinal Fleury, who was in his eighty-fifth year, was unwilling to expoſe his reputation, his old age, and the French nation, to the ſucceſs of a new war. Beſides, he thought himſelf reſtrained by the pragmatic ſanction, which had been ſigned and authenticated.

The count, ſince marſhal duke, de Belleiſle, and his brother, who were

* The author was at this period along with the king of Pruſſia; and can take upon him to ſay, the cardinal was ignorant what a prince he had to deal with.

grandſons of the famous Fouquet, without having any influence in the public affairs, nor as yet any acceſs to the king, and although they had no intereſt with cardinal Fleury, brought the miniſtry to reſolve on this enterprize.

The marſhal de Belleiſle had a great reputation, without having ſignalized himſelf. Although he had neither been miniſter nor general, yet he paſſed for a man who was very capable of managing a ſtate or commanding an army; but a bad ſtate of health frequently prevented him from reaping the fruits of his great talents. As he was conſtantly buſy and full of ſchemes; his body became a ſacrifice to the efforts of his mind; while he was admired for his politeneſs as an amiable courtier,

tier, he gave no leſs ſatisfaction by his apparent openneſs as a ſoldier. He could perſuade without eloquence, becauſe he always ſeemed to be perſuaded.

His brother the chevalier de Belleiſle, had the ſame ambition and the ſame views, but his ſchemes were more deeply contrived; for being of a healthy conſtitution, no buſineſs could fatigue him. His ſerious air was not ſo engaging; but he could convince when his brother could only inſinuate. His eloquence reſembled his courage, although they appeared in a forbidding aſpect which promiſed ſomething violent, yet he was capable of contriving, ſettling and executing every thing.

Theſe two men, who were more ſtrictly united by the conformity of

their Ideas than by the natural ties of conſanguinity, undertook to change the face of affairs in Europe; in this grand deſign they were aſſiſted by a lady of ſuperior talents. The cardinal oppoſed their enterpriſe even ſo far as to write a letter to the king upon the ſubject, wherein he adviſed the king againſt entering into their meaſures. It was now expected that the prelate would reſign his office, which he might have done with honour, after ſo long and ſucceſsful an adminiſtration; but he had not ſufficient reſolution to retire from the world, and although on the verge of the grave, he could not think of ſpending the remainder of his days in ſolitude, while marſhal de Belleiſle and his brother had the diſpoſal of every thing,

thing, the old cardinal was ſeemingly at the head of an undertaking which he diſapproved.

Such was the favourable ſituation of affairs, when marſhal de Belleiſle was diſpatched to Francfort, to the Pruſſian camp, and to Dreſden, with a view of concerting thoſe vaſt projects, which, by the concurrence of ſo many princes appeared to promiſe infallible ſucceſs. He agreed entirely with the meaſures of the king of Pruſſia, and thoſe of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. While he was negotiating in every part of Germany; he ſeemed to be the very ſoul of that party which was about to beſtow the empire and the hereditary crowns upon a prince, who could do nothing without their aſſiſtance. At the ſame time that the

French

French furniſhed the elector of Bavaria with money, they did not neglect to procure him allies, ſuffrages and troops. When the king of France ſent him the army which he had promiſed, he iſſued letters-patent * creating the elector (whom he had deſtined for the empire) lieutenant-general of his forces.

The elector of Bavaria being ſtrengthened by ſo many ſupplies, entered Auſtria without oppoſition, at a time when Maria Thereſa was at a loſs to defend herſelf againſt the Pruſſians. He immediately became maſter of the imperial city of Paſſau, which belonged to its own biſhop, and ſeparated Upper

* Thoſe letters were not ſigned 'till the 20th of Auguſt 1741.

per Auſtria from Bavaria. He then marched into Lintz, the capital of Upper Auſtria. From thence ſeveral ſmall detachments of his troops advanced within three leagues of Vienna: This ſpread the alarm, and they prepared with expedition to withſtand a ſiege; the ſuburbs was almoſt totally demoliſhed, together with a palace that was near the fortifications; the Danube was covered with numbers of boats, which conveyed the moſt precious effects of the inhabitants to places of greater ſafety. The elector of Bavaria proceeded ſo far as to ſend a ſummons to count Khevenhuller, who was then governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were, at this period, far from holding that balance which they had ſo long pretended to be

be in their hands; the ſtates-general remained quiet when they ſaw the army under marſhal de Maillebois in Weſtphalia; and the ſame army impoſed ſilence on the king of England, at that time in Hanover, who was in pain for his electoral eſtates; he had raiſed twenty-five thouſand men to aſſiſt Maria Thereſa; but was under the neceſſity of abandoning her at the head of his army, and of ſigning a treaty of neutrality.

There was then no power either in the empire or elſewhere, who ſupported the pragmatic ſanction, which had been guaranteed by ſo many ſtates. Vienna being badly fortified on that ſide which would moſt probably be attacked, could make but a feeble reſiſtance; and thoſe who were beſt acquainted with Germany

many, and the public tranſactions, already looked upon Vienna as taken, and the roads blocked up to the Hungarians, open to the victorious armies, all pretenſions regulated, and peace reſtored to the empire and to Europe.

In proportion as the ruin of Maria Thereſa ſeemed inevitable, that princeſs aſſumed freſh courage; ſhe had quitted Vienna, and had thrown herſelf into the arms of thoſe Hungarians, who had been treated with ſo much ſeverity by her father and anceſtors. Having called an aſſembly of the four orders of the ſtate, ſhe appeared there, holding in her arms her eldeſt ſon, who had hardly left his cradle, and addreſſing them in latin, in which language ſhe expreſſed herſelf very well; ſhe ſpoke to the following purpoſe: *Abandoned*

doned by my friends, perſecuted by my enemies, attacked by my neareſt relations, I have no other reſource but in your fidelity, in your courage, and my perſeverance; I deliver into your hands the daughter and ſon of your kings, whoſe ſafety depends on your conduct. Senſibly affected and animated by theſe words, the Hungarians drew their ſabres, and cried with one voice, *Moriamur pro noſtro rege Maria Thereſa*, We will die for our king Maria Thereſa. They always give the title of king to their queen; in fact, no princeſs ever better deſerved that title. While they were proteſting their readineſs to lay down their lives in her defence, ſhe was the only perſon who refrained from tears; but after ſhe had retired with her maids of honour, ſhe gave a full vent to thoſe tears which

which the firmneſs of her temper had made her reſtrain. At that time ſhe was pregnant, and not long before had written to her mother-in-law, the dutcheſs of Lorrain: *That ſhe did not know whether the enemy would leave her a ſingle town, in which ſhe might be brought to bed.*

In this ſituation ſhe excited the zeal of the Hungarians for her ſervice; England and Holland were inclined to aſſiſt her, and ſupplied her with money; ſhe uſed all her influence in the empire; and carried on a negociation with the king of Sardinia, whoſe provinces furniſhed her with ſoldiers.

The whole Engliſh nation intereſted themſelves in her favour, ſuch is their

diſpoſition, that they form opinions of their own, without waiting to be taught by their ſuperiors. Several private perſons propoſed ſending a free-gift to that princeſs; among theſe, the dutcheſs of Marlborough, widow of the duke of that name, who fought for Charles VI. aſſembled together the principal ladies in London, who agreed to raiſe one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, towards which ſum the dutcheſs depoſited forty thouſand pounds. The queen of Hungary had the magnanimity to refuſe the money which was thus generouſly offered to her; ſhe would accept of none, but what ſhe expected from the nation aſſembled in parliament.

It was believed that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would im-

immediately lay ſiege to Vienna. In war, we ought to do that which the enemy moſt dreads. This was one of thoſe deciſive blows, one of thoſe opportunities preſented by fortune, which, if miſſed, cannot be recalled. The elector of Bavaria had conceived hopes of taking Vienna, but he was not prepared for a ſiege, having neither heavy cannon nor ammunition. Cardinal Fleury had not extended his views ſo far as giving him that capital; he was ſatisfied with ſmaller acquiſitions, he would have been glad to divide the ſpoils before they were acquired; for he did not mean that the emperor, whom he elevated to that dignity, ſhould enjoy all the ſucceſſion.

In the month of November 1741, the French army, under the command

of the elector of Bavaria, being reinforced with 20,000 Saxons, marched towards Prague. Count Maurice de Saxe, natural brother of the king of Poland, attacked the place. This general inherited his father's peculiar ſtrength of body, together with the mildneſs of his temper and equal courage; but he poſſeſſed much ſuperior talents for war. His reputation was ſo great, that the inhabitants had, with one voice, elected him duke of Courland; but the Ruſſians, who gave laws to the North, had deprived him of that dignity, which the ſuffrage of a whole people had granted to his merit; he comforted himſelf, however, for his loſs in the ſervice of France, and in the agreeable ſociety of that nation, which, as yet, was a ſtranger to his many great qualifications.

It

It was neceſſary to take Prague in a few days, or abandon the enterpriſe; he was ſhort of ſupplies, and the ſeaſon was far advanced; and yet though that great city was but indifferently fortified, it could eaſily withſtand the firſt attacks. General Ogilvie, an Iriſhman by birth, who commanded the place, had three thouſand men in his garriſon; and the Grand Duke, at the head of thirty thouſand men, was in full march to relieve him. On the 25th of November he advanced within five leagues of the city, which was aſſaulted that ſame night by the French and Saxons.

They made two attacks with their artillery, which made a terrible noiſe, and quickly brought all the garriſon to that ſide of the town; in the mean

time, count Saxe, with the moſt profound ſilence, cauſed a ſingle ladder to be fixed on the ramparts of the new town, at a conſiderable diſtance, from the part attacked. M. Chevert, who was then a lieutenant-colonel, mounted firſt, the eldeſt ſon of marſhal Broglio followed him; on the ramparts, they found but one centinel near them; they were ſoon followed by multitudes, and made themſelves maſters of the city, when the garriſon laid down their arms. General Ogilvie, and his three thouſand men, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Count Saxe ſaved the city from being plundered, and, what is remarkable, during the firſt three days, the conquerors and conquered mixed promiſcuouſly together; French, Saxons, Bavarians and Bohemians could not

not diſtinguiſh one from another; and all this confuſion ended without ſpilling a drop of blood.

The elector of Bavaria, then juſt arrived, ſent an account of this ſucceſs to the king, in the ſtile a general who writes to him whoſe army he commands. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia, on the very day it was taken, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned in the month of December. In the mean time, the Grand Duke, who could not ſave that capital, and who could not ſubſiſt in its environs, retired to the ſouth-eaſt parts of the province, and left the command of the army to his brother, prince Charles of Lorrain.

About the ſame time, the king of Pruſſia reduced Moravia, a province ſituated between Bohemia and Sileſia:

In this manner, Maria Thereſa ſeemed to be overpowered in every quarter. Her competitor had already been crowned archduke of Auſtria at Lintz; he had aſſumed the crown of Bohemia at Prague, and from thence was gone to Francfort, to be raiſed to the imperial throne, under the name of Charles VII.

Marſhal Belleiſle followed him from Prague to Francfort, and appeared rather as an elector of the firſt rank, than as an ambaſſador from France. He had gained all the voices, and directed all the negociations, and received the honours due to the repreſentative of a king, who could confer an imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who preſided at the election, gave him the right-hand in his own palace, and the

am-

ambaſſador, in his own hotel, gave the right-hand to none but electors, taking the preference of all other princes. His credentials were written in the French language, though the German chancery had hitherto required that ſuch papers ſhould be preſented in Latin; that being the proper language for a government which aſſumes the name of the Roman empire. On the 4th of January 1741, Charles Albert was ſolemnly elected emperor without any diſturbance; he now ſeemed to have the proſpect of a glorious and happy reign; but fortune changed, and his elevation itſelf ſoon occaſioned him to be one of the moſt unfortunate princes in the world.

CHAP. VII.

The rapid Diſaſters which followed the Succeſſes of the Emperor CHARLES ALBERT *of* BAVARIA.

THE French and Bavarians began very ſoon to be ſenſible of the fault they had committed, in neglecting to provide a ſufficient body of cavalry. Marſhal Belleiſle, who was ſick at Francfort, wanted at once to conduct negociations, and command an army at a diſtance. A miſunderſtanding prevailed among the allied powers; the Saxons complained of the Pruſſians, while the latter found fault with the French, who, in return, complained as much of them.

In

In the mean time, Maria Thereſa ſupported herſelf with great reſolution; ſhe received remittances of money from England, Holland and Venice, and loans from Flanders: She formed alſo the moſt flattering hopes from the deſperate ardor of her troops, which were now brought together from all quarters. On the contrary, the French army, being commanded by unexperienced officers, was daily diminiſhed by fatigues, ſickneſs and deſertion, while their recruits came in but ſlowly. This was not the caſe with Guſtavus Adolphus, who began his campaigns in Germany with leſs than ten thouſand men, but ſoon found himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand, by augmenting his troops in proportion to his conqueſts. Every day weakened the French conquerors, and

and added ſtrength to the Auſtrians. Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the Grand Duke, was in the heart of Bohemia with thirty-five thouſand men: All the inhabitants were on his ſide; and he began to make a defenſive war with ſucceſs, by keeping the enemy continually under alarms, by cutting off their convoys, and by harraſſing them on all ſides with clouds of Huſſars, Croats, Pandors and Talpaches. The Pandors are ſlaves who inhabit the confines of the Drave and Save; they wear a long cloak, and carry ſeveral piſtols in their girdle; they likewiſe uſe a ſabre and poinard. The Talpaches are a ſort of Hungarian infantry, armed with a gun, two piſtols and a ſword. The Croats are the militia of Croatia; and the Huſſars are Hungarian

garian horſemen, mounted on ſmall horſes, which are, however, ſwift and indefatigable; they diſperſe the troops ſcattered in too many poſts, when they are not well provided with cavalry. The French and Bavarians were every where in this ſituation. The emperor Charles VII. wanted to keep poſſeſſion of an extenſive territory, by means of a handful of people, becauſe he thought the queen of Hungary was not in a condition to retake it; he was deceived, for all was recovered, and the war carried from the Danube to the Rhine.

When cardinal Fleury ſaw his expectations baffled, and ſo many diſaſters follow the firſt ſucceſſes, he wrote a letter to general Konigſeg, which he ordered marſhal Belleiſle himſelf

ſelf to deliver. In this letter, he excuſed himſelf from having any ſhare in undertaking the war, and affirmed, that he had been led beyond his own meaſures. *It is well known*, ſays he, *that I have ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the reſolutions that have been taken, and that I have been, in a manner, forced to comply with them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that paſſes, not to gueſs who is the perſon that employed every method to determine the king to enter into a league, ſo contrary to my inclination and principles.*

Inſtead of an anſwer, the queen of Hungary cauſed the cardinal's letter to be printed; it is eaſily ſeen what bad effects this letter would produce; in the firſt place, it evidently laid the whole blame of the war upon the general

general employed to negociate with count Konigſeg, and, inſtead of forwarding the negociation, only tended to make his perſon odious: In the ſecond place, it laid open the weakneſs of the miniſtry, and it ſhewed but little knowledge of mankind, not to foreſee that they would take the advantage of that weakneſs; that the allies of France would thereby be diſheartened, while its enemies gained freſh courage. The cardinal ſeeing his letter printed, wrote a ſecond to the Auſtrian general, complaining of his having publiſhed the firſt, and telling him, *That for the future he would not write to him his real ſentiments.* This ſecond letter did ſtill more miſchief than the firſt. He next diſowned both the letters in ſome

ſome of the public papers, but as he could not, by theſe means, impoſe upon any body, ſo his diſowning the letters only ſerved as a finiſhing ſtroke to his blunders, which good-natured people excuſed in a man tired out with bad ſucceſs, and in the eighty-ſeventh year of his age. In fine, the Bavarian emperor ſent propoſals to London for a peace; but, above all, for ſeculariſing ſome biſhopricks in favour of Hanover. The Engliſh miniſtry imagined they could accompliſh this without the aſſiſtance of the emperor, and only inſulted his propoſals by making them public; which reduced the emperor to the neceſſity of diſavowing his offers of peace, as cardinal Fleury had diſavowed the war.

The diſputes then grew warmer than ever; France on one ſide, and England on

on the other, principals in fact, though under the name of auxiliaries, endeavoured to keep the balance by force of arms. Thus was the houſe of Bourbon obliged, for the ſecond time, to engage in a war againſt almoſt all Europe.

Cardinal Fleury, being too much advanced in years to ſuſtain ſo heavy a burthen, laviſhed, with regret, the treaſures of France in a war undertaken againſt his inclination, and ſaw nothing but misfortunes occaſioned by miſconduct. He never thought that a marine power was neceſſary, 'till the remains of the French fleet was abſolutely deſtroyed by the Engliſh, and the maritime provinces were entirely expoſed. The emperor, whom France had made, was chaced three times from his own dominions.

In

In Bohemia and Bavaria, the French troops were routed without fighting one general battle; and their affairs were come to ſuch a paſs, that a retreat, which appeared impracticable, was looked upon as a ſingular piece of good fortune. Marſhal Belleiſle ſaved the remnants of the French army, who were beſieged in Prague, by conducting thirteen thouſand men from thence to Egra, through a bye-road of thirty-eight leagues, ſurrounded by ice, and in ſight of the enemy. In fine, the war was removed from the heart of Auſtria to the banks of the Rhine.

In the midſt of theſe misfortunes, cardinal Fleury died in the village of Iſſi, leaving the affairs of the war, the marine, the finances, and the police, in a critical ſituation; which, might indeed,

leſſen

leſſen the glory of his miniſtry, but could not diminiſh the tranquillity of his mind.

Lewis XV. then took the reſolution of governing by himſelf, and of putting himſelf at the head of an army. He found himſelf in the ſame ſituation in which his great grand-father had been involved; engaged in a war, called like this, the war of ſucceſſion.

He had France and Spain to ſupport againſt the ſame enemies, that is, againſt Auſtria, England, Holland and Savoy. In order to form a juſt idea of the embarraſſments which the king experienced, of the dangers to which he was expoſed, and of the reſources which he poſſeſſed, we muſt take notice in what manner England gave motion to all the diſturbances of Europe.

CHAP. VIII.

The Conduct of ENGLAND. *The Tranſactions of the Prince of* CONTI *in* ITALY.

AFTER the happy concluſion of the peace of Utrecht, the Engliſh, who occupied Minorca and Gibraltar in Spain, obtained ſeveral privileges from the court of Madrid, which the French, its defenders, did not enjoy. The Engliſh merchants purchaſed negroes on the coaſt of Africa, and diſpoſed of them to the Spaniſh colonies in America. This traffic of men, which brought to the Spaniſh government thirty-three piaſtres for every ſlave, was a conſiderable object of gain to the Eng-

Engliſh company; becauſe, in furniſhing four thouſand eight hundred negroes, they obtained leave to ſell the eight hundred without paying any duty; but the greateſt advantage granted to the Engliſh, excluſive of other nations, was the permiſſion which the company enjoyed from 1716, to ſend a veſſel to Porto-Bello. This veſſel, which at firſt was reſtrained to five hundred tons, was, by agreement, allowed to carry eight hundred and fifty in 1717, but in fact by fraud one thouſand and more, which amounted to about two millions in goods. The Engliſh company looked upon the thouſand tons as a trifling affair, compared to the other advantages ariſing from this trade; an advice-boat, which conſtantly followed the veſſel under pretext of carrying pro-

viſions, went and returned continually; ſhe was loaded in the Engliſh colonies with all ſorts of goods which ſhe brought to this veſſel, which, as it was never empty, did as much buſineſs as a whole fleet. It frequently happened, that other ſhips came by permiſſion to keep her full, and their ſloops went to the coaſts of America, when they had occaſion, which not only wronged the Spaniſh government, but was prejudicial to every body concerned in the trade from Spain to the gulph of Mexico. The Spaniſh governors treated the Engliſh merchants with a rigour, which ſeldom keeps within proper bounds.

In the year 1739 one Jenkins, maſter of a veſſel in that trade, preſented himſelf at the bar of the houſe of com-

commons. He was a plain, downright man, who had never been concerned in any illicit trade; but had been met by a Spaniſh guarda-coſta in ſome place of America, which was prohibited to the Engliſh. The Spaniſh captain had ſeized the ſhip, murdered the crew, ſlit the noſe, and cut off the ears of the maſter. In this condition, captain Jenkins appeared before the parliament; he informed them of his misfortune with that ſimplicity and openneſs which diſtinguiſh a ſailor; *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *when they had thus diſfigured me, I was threatened with death! I expected it; and recommended my ſoul to God, and my revenge to my country.* Theſe words expreſſed ſo naturally, excited a general cry of

compaſſion and indignation. The people of London inſiſted upon having, *a free ſea or a war.* Perhaps there never was more real rhetoric made uſe of than in the Engliſh parliament; and I do not know whether the premeditated harangues of the Athenians or Romans, on ſimilar occaſions, could ſurpaſs the unpremeditated ſpeeches of Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Cheſterfield, and Mr. Pulteney, ſince Earl of Bath. Theſe diſcourſes, which are the effects of the Engliſh conſtitution and ſpirit, ſometimes ſtrike ſtrangers with amazement: Thus the produce of any country, though undervalued at home, is greedily ſought after abroad. Where the ſpirit of party reigns we muſt read thoſe ſpeeches

ſpeeches with caution, the true ſtate of the nation being generally diſguiſed. The miniſterial party repreſents the kingdom in a flouriſhing ſituation, while the oppoſite faction aſſures us that the nation is ruined; both parties commonly exaggerate. *Oh for thoſe times*, cried one of their members of parliament, *when an Engliſh miniſter could ſay, that nobody ſhould fire a cannon in Europe without permiſſion from the Engliſh.*

At laſt, the voice of the nation determined the king and parliament to declare war in form againſt Spain, about the end of the year 1739.

The war was at firſt carried on by ſea, and the privateers of both nations, authoriſed by letters of marque, attacked the merchant-men in Europe

and America; thus they were reciprocally deſtroying their trade, which had occaſioned the ruptures between the two nations; but it was not long before greater hoſtilities enſued.

In the month of March 1740, admiral Vernon entered the gulph of Mexico, and there attacked and took the city of Porto-bello, the receptacle of the treaſures of the new world; having deſtroyed the fortifications, he left the trade open to the Engliſh, who might now carry on by force of arms that which they had before done clandeſtinely, and which was indeed the cauſe of the preſent rupture. The Engliſh regarded this expedition as a ſingular piece of ſervice done to the nation, the admiral received the thanks

of

of both houſes of parliament; they wrote to him as they had formerly done to the duke of Marlborough, after the battle of Hockſted. After this conqueſt, the South-ſea ſtock continued to riſe, notwithſtanding the immenſe expences of the nation; the Engliſh were being in hopes of conquering Spaniſh America. They imagined that nothing could ſtand before admiral Vernon, and when he went to beſiege Carthagena, they were in ſo great a haſte to celebrate the taking of it, that while he was raiſing the ſiege, they ſtruck off a medal, on one ſide of which was Carthagena, with this motto, *He has taken Carthagena*; on the other ſide was admiral Vernon, with the inſcription, *To the avenger of his*

his country. There are a great many inſtances of theſe premature medals which might deceive poſterity, if hiſtory, which is more faithful and exact, did not prevent thoſe errors.

France, whoſe navy was far from being on a reſpectable footing, did not act openly, but the French miniſtry aſſiſted the Spaniards as much as lay in their power.

Such then was the ſituation of affairs between England and Spain, when the death of Charles VI. gave riſe to ſo much trouble in Europe. We have ſeen how much Germany ſuffered by the diſputes between Auſtria and Bavaria; nor did Italy eſcape the deſolation which attended the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria. The Milaneſe was reclaimed by the Spaniards; Parma

ma and Placentia belonged by birth-right to a ſon of that queen who was born princeſs of Parma. Had Philip V. claimed the Milaneſe for himſelf, all Italy would have been alarmed; or if don Carlos, already maſter of Naples and Sicily, had pretended to Parma and Placentia, the uniting ſo many ſtates under one ſovereign could not fail of creating diſturbances; therefore, don Philip, a younger brother of don Carlos, was pitched upon to ſucceed to the Milaneſe and Parma. The queen of Hungary, who was miſtreſs of the Milaneſe, endeavoured to ſupport her rights to that province; while the king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, renewed his pretenſions; being afraid that the houſe Auſtria-Lorrain, poſſeſſing at once the Milaneſe and Tuſcany,

cany, might one day recover thoſe territories which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738; but he dreaded ſtill more the power of France, and a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, when he already ſaw another prince of that houſe in poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily.

About the beginning of 1742, he reſolved to make a particular alliance with the queen of Hungary; they were to unite againſt the preſent danger, which threatened both without ſeeking further advantages; and the king of Sardinia was at liberty to alter his meaſures when he ſhould think proper. This was a treaty between two enemies, who only meant to defend themſelves againſt a third. The court of Spain ſent the infant don Philip to attack

the king of Sardinia, who was not fond of him either as a friend or as a neighbour. Though cardinal Fleury had permitted don Philip and part of his army to paſs through France, he would not aſſiſt him with his troops.

At one time, great things are done, while, at another time, men are afraid of doing any thing. The reaſon of this conduct was, that the French flattered themſelves with bringing over to their intereſt the king of Sardinia, who gave them ſome room to hope for ſucceſs.

Beſides they did not want an open war againſt the Engliſh, who would have declared it immediately. The revolutions in Germany hindered them alſo, at that time, from irritating the maritime powers: The Engliſh openly oppoſed

poſed the ſettlement of don Philip in Italy, under pretence of keeping the balance of Europe.

That balance, whether well or ill underſtood, had become the favourite paſſion of the Engliſh, but the views of the miniſtry were extended to a more national concern; they wanted to oblige Spain to divide with them the trade of the new world. On this condition, don Philip might have gone over to Italy, as don Carlos, whom they had aſſiſted, had done in the year 1731. But the court of Spain would not agree to enrich its enemies at ſuch an expence. Though they ſtill thought of eſtabliſhing don Philip in his dominions.

In the months of November and December 1741, the Spaniſh court ſent over

over ſeveral bodies of troops to Italy, under the command of the duke of Montemar, who was not leſs known by the victory of Bitonto, than by his diſgrace which followed it. Theſe troops landed ſucceſſively on the coaſts of Tuſcany, and in the ports called *Degli Preſidii*, belonging to the crown of the Two Sicilies. It was neceſſary to paſs through the dominions of the Grand Duke, huſband to the queen of Hungary, who granted them free paſſage, and declared that his country was neutral. The duke of Modena, who had married the daughter of the late duke of Orleans, regent of France, likewiſe declared himſelf neutral. Pope Benedict XIV. through whoſe territories both Spaniards and Auſtrians muſt paſs, embraced the ſame neutrality with.

with a better grace than the others; he acted in this reſpect as the common father of princes and people, and could find no fault whilſt his children behaved with diſcretion in his dominions.

Freſh troops arrived from Spain, by the way of Genoa; that republic declared itſelf neutral, and let them paſs. About the ſame time, the king of Naples embraced the neutrality; although he could not fail of being intereſted in the cauſe of his father and brother. Notwithſtanding theſe declarations, not one of thoſe potentates was neutral in fact.

With reſpect to the neutrality of the king of Naples, the ſequel will ſhew its inſincerity; to their great ſurpriſe on the 18th of Auguſt, an Engliſh ſquadron appeared within ſight of the

the port of Naples, it conſiſted of ſix men of war of ſixty guns, ſix frigates, and two bomb-ſhips. Commodore (ſince admiral) Martin, who commanded this ſquadron, ſent an officer on ſhore with a letter to the prime miniſter, the ſubſtance of which was, that if the king did not recal his troops from the Spaniſh army, the town would immediately be bombarded. They held ſeveral conſultations; 'till the Engliſh commodore, laying his watch upon the deck, told them, he would allow them only one hour to come to a determination. At this time, the port was badly provided with artillery, they had not taken the neceſſary precautions againſt an unexpected attack; and they were then ſenſible of the old maxim, *Maſter by ſea, maſter by land.*

They were obliged to comply with the Engliſh commodore's demands, and to keep their promiſes 'till they could put the port and kingdom in a ſtate of defence.

The Engliſh themſelves were ſenſible, that the king of Naples could no more keep that forced neutrality in Italy, than the king of England had obſerved his in Germany.

The Spaniſh army under the command of the duke of Montemar, which had come into Italy to ſubdue Lombardy, being cloſely puſhed by the Auſtrians, had retired to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. About this time, the king of Sardinia returned to Piedmont, and to his dutchy of Savoy, where the viciſſitudes of the war required his preſence. The infant don Philip

Philip had been prevented by the Engliſh ſquadron from landing freſh troops at Genoa, but he had penetrated, by land, into the dutchy of Savoy, of which he ſoon became maſter. That country is almoſt open and defenceleſs on the ſide of Dauphiny; it is ſo barren and poor, that it was with difficulty that its ſovereigns could raiſe from it a revenue of fifteen hundred thouſand livres: Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, had abandoned that province to go to the defence of Piedmont, a country of greater importance.

We ſee, by this ſketch, that all Europe was alarmed, and that all the provinces experienced the calamities of war, from the furtheſt corner of Sileſia to the very heart of Italy. Al-

though Auſtria was at open war with Bavaria alone, yet Italy was ravaged; the people of the Milaneſe, Mantua, Parma, Modena and Guaſtella, obſerved theſe irruptions and deſolations with an impotent ſorrow, having been long accuſtomed to be the prize of the conqueror, without even daring to give their ſuffrage.

The court of Spain demanded a paſſage for their troops through Switzerland into Italy, which was refuſed. The Swiſs Cantons ſell ſoldiers to all parties, and defend their country againſt all; and although their government is pacific, the people are all warriors, which rendered ſuch a neutrality reſpectable. The Venetians, on their ſide, raiſed twenty thouſand men to give weight to their neutrality.

There

There was in the harbour of Toulon a Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of ſixteen men of war, which had been deſtined to carry don Philip to Italy; but as he had gone by land, the fleet was ordered to carry proviſions for his troops; this was found to be impracticable, as they were conſtantly blocked up by an Engliſh fleet which commanded the Mediterranean ſea, and inſulted all the coaſts of Italy and Provence. As the Spaniſh engineers were not expert in their art, they were exerciſed, during four months, in the harbour of Toulon, in ſhooting at a mark, and prizes were propoſed to excite their emulation and induſtry.

When they had acquired ſufficient ſkill, the Spaniſh ſquadron, commanded by don Joſeph Navarro, ſailed from

the road of Toulon; it conſiſted only of twelve men of war; the Spaniards not having a ſufficient number of ſailors and engineers to work ſixteen, it was immediately joined by fourteen French ſhips of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ſhips, under the command of M. de Court, who, at the age of fourſcore, enjoyed all the vigour of body and mind which ſuch a ſtation required. Forty years had elapſed ſince the ſea-fight off Malaga, where he had ſerved as captain on board of the admiral's ſhip, and ſince that time there had been no engagement at ſea in any part of the world, excepting that off Meſſina in 1718. Admiral Mathews, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, preſented himſelf before the

united

united ſquadrons of France and Spain; his fleet conſiſted of forty-five ſhips of the line, five frigates, and four fire-ſhips; with the advantage of a ſuperior number, he likewiſe had that of the wind being in his favour; this laſt circumſtance is of as much conſequence at ſea, as an advantageous poſt is on land. The Engliſh were the firſt who ranged their naval forces in the order of battle which is now in uſe, and it is from them that other nations have learned to diſpoſe their fleets into the diviſions of van, main and rear. They fought in this order at the engagement off Toulon, where the two fleets were equally damaged, and alike diſperſed.

This battle was indeciſive, as ſea-fights almoſt always are (if we except

that of la Hogue) indeed we ſeldom ſee any other fruits from great preparations, and an obſtinate action, than the deſtruction of numbers on both ſides, and the diſmaſting of their ſhips. Every one complained; the Spaniards thought they had not been properly ſupported, while the French accuſed the Spaniards of unſkilfulneſs. Though theſe two nations were in alliance, they were not always united. Their antient antipathy ſometimes revived among the people, while a moſt perfect cordiality ſubſiſted between their kings.

The real advantage of this battle, was, in fact, gained by the French and Spaniards; as the Mediterranean was now free, they could, at leaſt for ſome time, ſend proviſions from the coaſts of Provence to don Philip, who wanted

wanted ſuch ſupplies very much. But when admiral Mathews returned to thoſe ſeas, neither the French fleets nor Spaniſh ſquadrons could reſiſt his force: Theſe two nations having conſtantly numerous armies by land, were deprived of that inexhauſtible ſource of ſeamen, which forms the baſis of the Engliſh power.

CHAP. IX.

The Prince of CONTI *forces the Paſſages of the* ALPS. *Situation of Affairs in* ITALY.

IN the midſt of theſe ſtruggles Lewis XV. declared war againſt the king of England, and the queen of Hungary, who, in return, declared war againſt him with the uſual formalities; this was only a piece of ceremony on both ſides; neither Spain nor Naples declared war, but they carried it on as effectually.

Don Philip, at the head of twenty thouſand Spaniards, commanded by the marquis de la Mina, and the prince of Conti, followed by twenty thouſand French-

Frenchmen, ſeverally inſpired their troops with that ſpirit of confidence, and of reſolute courage which were neceſſary for penetrating into Piedmont, where one battalion may ſtop a whole army, where they are expoſed every moment to fight among rocks, precipices and torrents, and where the difficulty of convoys reaching them was none of the ſmalleſt that they had to encounter. The prince of Conti, who had ſerved as lieutenant-general in the unſucceſsful war of Bavaria, had been experienced in the art of war from his youth.

On the firſt of April 1744, the infant don Philip and the prince of Conti paſſed the river Varo, which falls from the Alps into the ſea of Genoa, below Nice. The whole county of Nice ſurrendered; but before

fore they could advance farther, they were obliged to attack the intrenchments near Villa-Franca, and after them the fortreſs of Montalban, ſituated among the rocks, which formed a long chain of almoſt inacceſſible ramparts. They could not march but in defiles, and thro' hollow ways, where they were expoſed to the artillery of the enemy, which annoyed them alſo, when clambering from rock to rock. They were obliged to encounter ſome of the Engliſh even on the Alps, for admiral Mathews, after refitting his fleet, had returned to reſume the empire of the ſea. He had landed at Villa-Franca, where his ſoldiers joined the Piedmonteſe, and his engineers ſerved the artillery. Notwithſtanding theſe dangers, the prince of Conti preſented himſelf before

the rampart of Piedmont near Villa-Franca; this was about two hundred toiſes in height, and was thought by the king of Sardinia to be inacceſſible, and it was covered with French and Spaniards. The Engliſh admiral and his ſailors were on the point of being taken priſoners.

They then advanced and penetrated as far as the valley of Chateau-dauphin. The count de Campo Santo, at the head of the Spaniards, followed the prince of Conti through another defile; the name and title of Campo Santo, had been conferred upon him as a recompence for his extraordinary actions at the battle of Campo Santo, in the ſame manner as the name of Bitonto had been given to the duke of Montemar after the battle of Bitonto.

tonto. No title can be more glorious than that of a battle which has been gained.

The bailiff of Givri, in open day, ſcaled a rock, on which two thouſand Piedmonteſe were entrenched; and the brave Chevert, who was the firſt that mounted the rampart at Prague, was among the foremoſt who reached the top, andthis ſcene was more bloody than that of Prague, as they had no cannon, and the Piedmonteſe kept playing theirs conſtantly upon the aſſailants. The king of Sardinia was in perſon behind theſe entrenchments endeavouring to animate his troops. The Bailiff of Givri was wounded at the beginning of the action, and the marquis de Villemur, being informed that a paſſage no leſs important had been juſt carried

ried by the French, ordered a retreat; which Givri inſtantly cauſed to be beat; but the officers and ſoldiers, too intereſtingly engaged to liſten to it, lieutenant-colonel de Poitou leaped into the firſt entrenchment, where he was followed by the grenadiers, and what is hardly credible, they paſſed cloſe by the embraſures of the enemies cannon, at the inſtant that the pieces being fired, were running back with their uſual motion; they loſt about two thouſand men in this action; but not one of the Piedmonteſe eſcaped. The king of Sardinia, in deſpair, wanted to throw himſelf into the midſt of the aſſailants, and they kept him back with much difficulty; the bailiff of Givri, colonel Salis, and the marquis de la Carte, were among the ſlain,

ſlain, and the duke d'Agenois, with a great many others, were wounded. The count de Campo Santo, who could not arrive in time at the narrow rugged defile where this furious engagement had happened, wrote to the marquis de la Mina, general of the Spaniſh army under don Philip: *We may have*, ſays he, *opportunities of behaving as well as the French, but we cannot behave better.* I always take notice of thoſe letters of the general officers which contain any thing particularly intereſting: For this reaſon, I ſhall tranſcribe that which the prince of Conti wrote to the king touching this engagement: *This has been*, ſays he, *one of the moſt brilliant and lively actions that ever happened; the troops have ſhewn a valour more than human. The bri-*

brigade of Poitou, having M. d'Agencis at its head, is covered with glory.

The courage and preſence of mind of M. de Chevert have chiefly decided the advantage. I recommend to you M. de Solemi and the chevalier de Modena. La Carte is killed; your majeſty, who knows the value of friendſhip, feels how much I am affected by his loſs. Hiſtory ought to preſerve thoſe expreſſions from a prince to a king, which are leſſons of virtue to the reſt of mankind.

During the attack on Chateau-dauphin, it was found neceſſary to carry what was called the barricades, a paſſage about 18 feet broad between two mountains, which reached the clouds. Into this precipice the king of Sardinia had turned the courſe of the river Sture, which watered the neighbouring val-

ley. Three intrenchments, and a covered way beyond the river, defended the poſt of the barricades; after this, they had to reduce the caſtle of Demont, built at an immenſe expence on the top of a barren rock, in the middle of the valley of Sture: Whence the French, being then maſters of the Alps, could diſtinguiſh the plains of Piedmont. Theſe barricades were reduced the night before the ſurrrender of Chateau-dauphin. The French and Spaniards carried them almoſt without ſtriking a blow, by putting thoſe, who defended them, between two fires. This advantage was a maſter-ſtroke in the art of war, and was glorious in that it obtained the object in view with little bloodſhed.

CHAP. X.

New Misfortunes of the Emperor CHARLES VII. *The Battle of* DETTINGEN.

THESE great actions were yet but of little ſervice in promoting the principal deſign, which is generally the caſe in all wars. If the prince of Conti was victorious in Italy, it did not make the cauſe of the queen of Hungary leſs triumphant. The emperor Charles VII. in fact, made emperor by the king of France, was ſtill, nevertheleſs, baniſhed from his own eſtates, and a wanderer in Germany; the ſucceſſes in Italy did

not prevent the French from being repulſed on the Rhine and the Mayne: In ſhort, France ſtill continued to be diſtreſſed by ſupporting a foreign cauſe and a war, which might have been very well ſpared; a war undertaken by the ambition of marſhal Belleiſle; in which little could be gained, but a great deal might be loſt.

The emperor Charles VII. next took refuge in Augſburg, a free imperial city, under a republican government, and famous by the name of Auguſtus; being the only city which had preſerved any remains of that name, which was formerly ſo common on the frontier towns of France and Germany. He made but a ſhort ſtay there, and on leaving it in the month of June 1743, had the mortification to ſee a co-

a colonel of Huſſars, named Mentzel, enter the place, and inſult him in the public ſtreets.

His unhappy deſtiny next carried him to Frankfort, a city ſtill more privileged than Augſburg, and in which he had carried his election to the empire; but where he now ſaw his misfortunes encreaſe. Four miles from this new refuge he came to a battle, which finally decided his fate.

The earl of Stair, a Scots nobleman, brought up under the duke of Marlborough, and formerly ambaſſador in France, had marched towards Frankfort with an army of fifty thouſand men and upwards, conſiſting of Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Auſtrians. The king of England arrived with his ſe-

cond ſon, the duke of Cumberland, after having gone to Frankfort, the aſylum of the emperor, whom he acknowledged as his ſovereign, while he was going to war to dethrone him.

Marſhal duke de Noailles, who commanded the oppoſite army, had bore arms ever ſince he was fifteen years of age; he had commanded at Catalonia in the war 1701, and had ſince filled the ſeveral principal departments of the ſtate; though at the head of the finances, at the beginning of the regency, when a general of the army, and miniſter of ſtate, he never left off cultivating literature; an example, common among the Greeks and Romans, but, in the preſent times, very ſeldom to be met with in Europe.

This

This general, by his ſuperior ſkill, ſoon made himſelf maſter of the whole country; hemmed in the army of the Engliſh which had the Mayne between it and the French, and cut off their proviſions by commanding the paſſages above and below their camp.

The king of England was poſted in Aſchaffembourg, a city upon the Mayne belonging to the elector of Mentz. He had taken this ſtep againſt the advice of lord Stair, and began to repent it; he now ſaw his army blocked up and famiſhed by the marſhal de Noailles, he was then obliged to reduce his ſoldiers to half their common allowance. They were ſo much in want of forage, that it was propoſed to hamſtring the horſes, and it would have been put in execution

if they had remained two days longer in that ſituation. The king of England was, at laſt, obliged to retire to ſeek proviſions at Hanau on the road to Frankfort; in his retreat he was expoſed to the batteries of the enemies cannon, placed on the banks of the Mayne. It was neceſſary to haſten the march of his army though weakened by hunger, as the rear-guard might otherwiſe be deſtroyed by the French; for marſhal de Noailles had taken the precaution to throw over bridges, between Dettingen and Aſchaffemburg, upon the road to Hanau, and the Engliſh had to their other miſtakes added that of allowing the bridges to be conſtructed. On the 26th of June, at midnight, the Engliſh army decamped with the greateſt ſilence, and hazarded a pre-

a precipitate and dangerous march to which they were thus reduced. Marſhal de Noailles obſerved the Engliſh, who ſeemed to be haſtening to their ruin, in a ſtrait road between a mountain and a river. He took this opportunity to cauſe the ſquadrons of the king's houſhold, the dragoons and huſſars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the Engliſh muſt paſs. He ordered four brigades of infantry, and the French guards over two bridges. Theſe troops were to remain poſted at Dettingen, by the ſide of a deep hollow, where they could not be obſerved by the Engliſh, whoſe motions, at the ſame time, were ſeen by marſhal Noailles. The enemy was likewiſe hemmed in by two batteries, which M. de Valliere, a ſkilful engi-

engineer, had erected on the banks of the river. This obliged them to paſs through a defile between Dettingen and a little river near that town. Thus ſituated, the French deſigned to fire upon them with certain advantage, in hopes that even the king of England himſelf might become their priſoner: In ſhort, this was a deciſive moment, which might have put an end to the war.

The marſhal recommended to his nephew the duke de Grammont, lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, to remain in this poſition 'till the enemy ſhould fall into the ſnare. Unfortunately, however, he went to reconnoitre the ground, in order to bring his cavalry more forward. Moſt of his officers were of opinion, that he

he ought to remain at the head of his troops to give orders. He detached five brigades to occupy the poſt of Aſchaffemburg, ſo that the Engliſh were encompaſſed on all ſides. But a moment's impatience rendered all theſe meaſures ineffectual.

The duke de Grammont imagined the firſt column of the enemy was already gone by, and that he had nothing to do but to fall on the rear-guard, which could not oppoſe him. He accordingly ordered his troops to paſs the hollow way: Thus quitting an advantageous poſt, where he ſhould have remained, he advanced, with the regiment of guards and that of Noailles, into a ſmall plain, called the Cockfield, where the Engliſh, who filed off in order of battle, ſoon formed them-

themſelves. By this means, the French, who had drawn the enemy into a ſnare, fell into it themſelves. They ruſhed on the attack in great diſorder, and with unequal ſtrength. The cannons, which had been placed along the banks of the Mayne by M. de Valliere, and which had played with ſucceſs on the enemy's flank, particularly the Hanoverians, were rendered uſeleſs, as they could not now be employed without annoying the French themſelves; juſt as this miſtake was committed, marſhal Noailles returned to that part of the army.

The king's houſhold on horſeback, and the carabineers, by their impetuoſity, ſoon broke two lines of the enemy's infantry; but the latter immediately rallied and ſurrounded the French,

French; the officers of the regiment of guards advanced with great intrepidity at the head of a ſmall body of infantry, which coſt them dear, for twenty-one were killed on the ſpot, and as many dangerouſly wounded, ſo that the whole regiment was routed.

The duke de Chartres (ſince duke of Orleans) the prince of Clermont, count d'Eu, and the duke de Penthievre, notwithſtanding his youth, uſed all their efforts to ſtop this confuſion. The count de Noailles had two horſes killed under him, and his brother the duke d'Ayen was thrown from his horſe.

It was in vain the marquis de Puiſegur, ſon of the marſhal of that name, called to the ſoldiers of his regiment, ran after them, rallied as many as he could,

could, and even killed ſome with his own hand, who fled and cried out, *Save himſelf who can.* The princes and dukes of Biron, Luxembourg, Richlieu and Pequigni-Chevreuſe alſo rallied ſome brigades, and broke into the lines of the enemy.—

In another quarter, the king's houſhold and the carabineers ſtood their ground. In one place, might be ſeen a troop of gendarmes; in another, a company of guards, here an hundred muſqueteers, there companies of cavalry advancing with light-horſe, and others who followed the grenadiers or carabineers on horſeback, all running up to the Engliſh ſword-in-hand, with more courage than good order; indeed they had ſo little of the latter, that about fifty muſqueteers, hurried on by

by their valour, penetrated into the regiment of horſe commanded by lord Stairs. Twenty-ſeven officers on horſe-back, belonging to the royal houſhold, periſhed in this confuſion, ſixty-ſix were dangerouſly wounded, among the laſt were count d'Eu, count d'Harcourt, count de Beuvron, the duke de Bouflers, and count de la Motte Hondancourt, gentleman of honour to the queen, whoſe horſe being killed, he was, for ſome time, trampled under foot, and at laſt carried off almoſt dead. The marquis de Gentaud, had his arm broken, and the duke de Rochechouart, firſt gentleman of the chamber, having been twice wounded, continued fighting 'till he was killed on the ſpot. The marquiſſes de Sabran and de Fleury, the counts d'Eſtrade

and

and Roſtaing, likewiſe loſt their lives; nor muſt we omit among the particulars of that melancholy day, the death of a count de Bouflers, of the branch of Remiancourt. He was a boy little more than ten years old; a cannon-ball broke his leg, which he ſaw cut off, and died with amazing reſolution. Such youth and courage greatly moved the ſpectators of his misfortune.—The loſs was no leſs conſiderable among the Engliſh officers. The king of England fought on foot and on horſeback; ſometimes at the head of his cavalry, and at others, at the head of the infanty. The duke of Cumberland was wounded riding by his ſide, the duke d'Aremberg, the Auſtrian general, received a wound in the upper part of his breaſt, and the

the Engliſh loſt ſeveral general officers. The combat laſted three hours, but it was too unequal; courage alone was engaged againſt numbers, valour and diſcipline. At length marſhal de Noailles gave orders for a retreat.

The king of England dined on the field of battle, and immediately after retreated, without allowing time to take care of all the wounded; ſix hundred of whom were left behind, and recommended by lord Stair, to the generoſity of marſhal de Noailles. They were treated by the French as their countrymen, both nations behaving to each other with much reſpect. The letters which paſſed between the two generals, ſhew how far politeneſs and humanity may be carried, even amidſt the horrors of war.

Nor was this greatneſs of mind confined to the earl of Stair and the duke of Noailles; the duke of Cumberland gave an inſtance of equal generoſity which ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity. It happened that a muſqueteer, named Girardau, being dangerouſly wounded, was brought near the duke's tent, moſt of the ſurgeons being buſy elſewhere; thoſe who were at hand, were preparing to dreſs the duke, who was wounded, by a ball, in the calf of his leg;—*Begin*, ſaid the prince, *by dreſſing that French officer's wound: He is more hurt than I; he may perhaps want aſſiſtance; I ſhall have help enough.*

In other reſpects, the loſs of both armies was nearly equal; the allies had two thouſand two hundred and thirty-

one

one men killed and wounded, according to the Engliſh account, which ſeldom diminiſhes their own loſs, or exaggerates that of the enemy.

The French ſuffered a great loſs in rendering their excellent diſpoſitions at firſt abortive, by the ſame precipitate ardour and want of diſcipline, which formerly occaſioned their loſing the battle of Poitiers, Creſſy, and Agincourt. The writer of this hiſtory, ſaw the earl of Stair at the Hague about ſix weeks after the battle, and took the liberty to aſk him his opinion of it. That general returned for anſwer: *I think the French were guilty of one great fault, and we of two; yours was, in not having patience to wait for us, and ours were, firſt in running ourſelves into imminent danger of deſtruction, and then not taking the proper advantage of our victory.*

After this action, a great many French and Engliſh officers went to Frankfort, a neutral city, where the emperor ſaw the earl of Stair and marſhal de Noailles, without being able to expreſs any other ſentiments than thoſe of patience under his misfortunes.

Marſhal de Noailles, however, found the emperor labouring under the greateſt chagrin, without hope, and even deſtitute of the means of ſupporting his family in that imperial city, in which no perſon would advance a penny to to the chief of the empire. He, therefore, gave him a bill of credit for 40,000 crowns on the king his maſter, who, he was very certain, would accept it. To ſuch a ſituation was, at this time, reduced the majeſty of the Roman empire!

CHAP. XI.

The firſt Campaign of LEWIS XV. *in* FLANDERS, *and his Succeſs. He quits* FLANDERS *to go to the Relief of* ALSACE, *which was threatened with an Invaſion, while the Prince of* CONDE *endeavoured to open the Paſſage through the* ALPS.—*New Confederacies.—The King of* PRUSSIA *again takes up Arms.*

IT was in theſe dangerous circumſtances, in this ſhock of ſo many kingdoms, in this medley and confuſion of war and politicks, that Lewis XV. began his firſt campaign. The frontiers on the German ſide were carefully guarded. The queen of Hungary was upon the point of compelling the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Pa-

Palatinate, to take an oath of fidelity. She cauſed a memorial to be publiſhed in Frankfort, where Charles VII. was retired, in which the election of this emperor was declared totally invalid. So that he was obliged at laſt to declare himſelf neuter, as they ſtill kept ſtripping him of his eſtates. Propoſals were made to him for abdicating and reſigning the empire to Francis, Grand Duke of Tuſcany, huſband of *Maria Thereſa*.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the Grand Duke, formed a lodgment in an iſle upon the Rhine, near to Old Briſac. Some Hungarian parties penetrated beyond the Saare, and entered the frontiers of Lorraine. The famous partizan *Mentzel*, diſperſed manifeſtos in Alſace, in the three

Bi-

Biſhopricks, and in the county of Burgundy, by which he invited the people, in the name of the queen of Hungary, to return to their obedience to the houſe of Auſtria; he threatened the inhabitants, who had taken up arms, that he would force them to cut off their own noſes and ears. This piece of inſolence, worthy a ſoldier of *Attila*, though deſpicable in itſelf, but was a proof of his ſucceſs. The Auſtrian armies threatened Naples, at the time the French and Spaniſh armies were only in the Alps. The Engliſh victorious by land, reigned likewiſe upon the ſeas. The Dutch were going to declare themſelves, and promiſed to join the Engliſh and Auſtrian in Flanders. But all turned out quite contrary, as the king of Pruſſia, ſatisfied

with being poſſeſſed of *Sileſia*, made a ſeparate peace with the queen of Hungary.

Lewis XV. bore all the burthen of this war. He not only protected the frontiers upon the borders of the Rhine and the Moſelle with his troops, but he even prepared to invade England. He ſent to Rome for the young prince *Charles Edward*, eldeſt ſon of the pretender, and grandſon to the unfortunate king James the ſecond. A fleet of one-and-twenty ſhips, containing twenty-four thouſand land-forces, conveyed him into the Engliſh channel. This prince had now the firſt ſight of his promiſed kingdom. But a tempeſt, and, above all, the Engliſh men of war, rendered this enterprize of no effect.

About

About this time the king ſet out for Flanders. He had a flouriſhing army which comte d'Argenſon, ſecretary of war, had taken care to furniſh with every thing neceſſary for the ſiege or the field.

Lewis XV. being arrived in Flanders; the Dutch, who had promiſed to join the Auſtrian and Engliſh troops, began to be afraid. They did not dare to fulfil their promiſe, but ſent deputies to the king, inſtead of troops, againſt him. While the French took Courtray and Menin, in the preſence of thoſe very deputies, and the next day ſurrounded Ypres.

The prince of Clermont, abbé of St. Germain de Pres, commanded the principal attacks at the ſiege of Ypres. There had not been ſeen in France, ſince

ſince the times of the cardinals *Valette* and *Sourdis*, a man who had thus united the profeſſion of arms to that of the church. The prince of Clermont had this permiſſion from pope *Clement* XII. who was of opinion that the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, ought to be ſubordinated to that of war in the great grandſon of the renowned *Condé*. They attacked the covered way in the front of the Lower Town, although that enterprize ſeemed hazardous and premature. Field-marſhal, marquis de Beaveau, at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbon and Royal Comtois, received a mortal wound, which gave him exceſſive pain. He died in inconceivable tortures, regretted by the officers and ſoldiers as a promiſing general, and of all Paris, as a man of ſenſe and probity. — He

ſaid

ſaid to the ſoldiers who carried him off, *Leave me my friends to die, and return to the battle.*---Ypres ſoon capitulated, on which not a moment was loſt. While the beſiegers entered this town, the duke of Bouflers was taking fort Kenoque; and while the king was afterwards going to take a view of the frontiers, the prince of Clermont undertook the ſiege of Furnes, which, in five days time, hung out the white flag and ſubmitted. The Engliſh and Auſtrian generals, who commanded on the ſide of Bruſſels, beheld this progreſs and could not ſtop it. A body of troops, under the command of marſhal Saxe, which the king had ordered to oppoſe them, were ſo well poſted, and covered the ſieges ſo opportunely that their ſucceſs

ſucceſs was infallible.---The allies had not formed any fixed and determined plan of operations for the enſuing campaign. Thoſe of the French army were well concerted.---Marſhal Saxe poſted at Courtray, prevented all the motions of the enemy, and facilitated the operations of the French. A numerous artillery which they eaſily drew from Douay, a regiment of matroſſes, conſiſting of near 5000 men, fully officered for conducting a ſiege, and compoſed of ſoldiers active and well-diſciplined; add to theſe, a large body of engineers, were advantages, that nations, uniting in haſte to declare war, could not be poſſeſſed of for ſome years. Such eſtabliſhments as theſe muſt have been the fruit of time and attention, concerted in a powerful

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monarchy. And hence the French have neceſſarily the ſuperiority in ſieges over other nations.

In the midſt of this progreſs, news arrived that the Auſtrians had paſſed the Rhine in ſight of the French and Bavarians, that they had entered Alſace, and that the frontiers of Lorrain lay expoſed to them. This news was not directly believed, but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by making ſeveral feints in different places at once, ſucceeded, at length, on that ſide where count Seckendorff commanded the Bavarians, the Palatines and Heſſians, allies in the ſervice of France.

The Auſtrian army, to the number of about ſixty thouſand men, entered Alſace without any reſiſtance. Prince Charles,

Charles, in one hour, made himſelf maſter of Lauterbourg, a poſt weakly fortified, but of the utmoſt importance. He ordered general *Nadaſti* to advance cloſe to Weſſenbourg, an open town; the garriſon of which were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. He put a body of ten thouſand men into the town, and the lines ſurrounding it. Marſhal Coigny, who commanded in theſe quarters, a brave and prudent general, celebrated for two victories in Italy in the war of 1738, ſeeing his communication with the French was cut off, and that the provinces of Meſſin and Lorrain were falling a prey to the Auſtrians and Hungarians, had no other reſource left, than to paſs by the enemy's troops to re-enter Alſace, and cover the country. He marched

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immediately with the major part of his army to Weſſenbourg, of which the enemy had, in the mean time, poſſeſſed themſelves. He attacked them in the town and lines; the Auſtrians defended both with courage. They fought in the ſquares and in the ſtreets, which were ſoon covered with the ſlain.---The action laſted ſix hours. The Bavarians, who had very indifferently guarded the Rhine, repaired their negligence by their valour. They were, above all, encouraged by the count of Mortagne, at that time lieutenant-general in the ſervice of the emperor, who received no leſs than ten muſket-ſhots in his cloaths. The marquis of Montal led on the French, who, at length, retook the town and the lines, but were ſoon forced, by the arrival of the whole Au-

Auſtrian army, to retire towards Hagenau; which they were even forced to abandon. The flying parties of the enemy puſhed ſeveral leagues beyond the Saare, and ſpread terror even to Luneville, from which king Staniſlaus Lezinſky was forced to depart with all his court.

At the news of this reverſe of fortune, which the king heard at Dunkirk, he did not heſitate on the part he ought to take: he reſolved to interrupt the courſe of his ſucceſs in Flanders, to leave marſhal Saxe with about forty thouſand men to preſerve what he had taken, and to haſten himſelf to the relief of Alſace.

After having diſpatched marſhal Noailles before him, he ſent the duke of Harcourt with ſome troops, to guard the ſtreights

ſtreights of Phalſbourg, and prepared to march himſelf at the head of twenty-ſix battalions, and three-and-thirty ſquadrons. This reſolution of his majeſty in his firſt campaign, revived the drooping ſpirits of the provinces, alarmed by the paſſage of the Rhine, and, ſtill more ſo, by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany.

The king took his route by Saint Quintin, la Fere, Laon, Rheims, marching his troops with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the ſoldiers pay and ſubſiſtence, a circumſtance which increaſed the love of his ſubjects. He arrived at Metz the fifth of Auguſt, and on the 7th, tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, compelled prince

Charles to repaſs the Rhine, reſtored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more perilous ſituation than any ſhe had yet experienced.

One would imagine that this princeſs had nothing to fear from the king of Pruſſia after the peace of Breſlaw, eſpecially after a defenſive alliance concluded the ſame year, betwixt that prince and the king of England. But the queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, having united againſt the emperor by the treaty of Worms; the northern powers, and particularly Ruſſia, having been ſtrongly ſolicited to come into this alliance; the progreſs of the queen of Hungary's arms increaſing daily in Germany; from all theſe circum-

ſtances it was plain, ſooner or later, that the king of Pruſſia had every thing to fear. At length, he determined upon renewing his engagements with France; the treaty had been ſecretly ſigned the 5th of April; and afterwards a ſtrict alliance had been concluded at Frankfort, between the king of France, the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the elector Palatine, and the king of Sweden, in quality of landgrave of Heſſe. Thus the ſecret union of Frankfort was a counterpoiſe to the projects of the union of Worms, ſo that one half of Europe was excited againſt the other, and, on all ſides, they exhauſted every reſource of policy and war.

Marſhal Schmettau came, on the part of Pruſſia, to inform the king of

France that his new ally was marching towards Prague, with an army of four-ſcore thouſand men; and that two-and-twenty thouſand Pruſſians were advancing into Moravia.

This powerful diviſion in Germany, the conqueſts of the king in Flanders, and his march to Alſace, had diſſipated the apprehenſions of the French, when they were ſtruck by others of a different kind, which made the whole kingdom of France to tremble.

CHAP. XII.

The King of FRANCE *is taken ill of a Fever. He recovers and marches into* GERMANY; *lays Siege to* FRIBOURG, *while the Auſtrian Army, which had penetrated into* ALSACE, *returns to the Relief of* BOHEMIA.—*The Prince of* CONTI *gains a Battle in* ITALY.

THE day te-deum was ſung in Metz, for the taking of Chateau-dauphin, the king felt ſome ſymptoms of a fever.---This was the 8th of Auguſt. His illneſs increaſed, and the fever turned to the malignant or putrid kind, and on the 14th, in the night, he was judged to be in imminent danger. His conſtitution was robuſt, and for-

tified by exercise; but the best constitutions often sink under these disorders, because they have strength enough to support the first attacks, and to accumulate, for some days, the principles of a disease, which they resisted in the beginning. This event spread fear and consternation from town to town; the people flocked together from all the country about Metz; the roads were filled with persons of all ages and conditions, who, by their different reports, increased the general inquietude.

The news of the king's danger reached Paris in the middle of the night; the inhabitants rose from their beds, and ran about in great disorder, without knowing whither they went.--- The churches were opened, though at mid-

midnight, nor did the people any longer regard the time of ſleeping, waking, or eating.---All Paris ſeemed diſtracted, and the houſes of people of condition were ſurrounded with a continual croud. The public ſquares were alſo crouded by the populace, who all cried out, *If he dies, 'tis for having marched to our relief.* Even ſtrangers accoſted and interrogated one another in the churches on a ſubject in which every one was ſo deeply intereſted. In many churches, the prieſts, who read prayers for the king's recovery, interrupted the recital by their tears, the people anſwering them with ſobs and cries. The courier, who brought the news of the king's recovery to Paris on the 19th, was embraced and almoſt ſtifled

by the people: They kiſſed his horſe, and led him in triumph about the ſtreets; all which reſounded with the joyful cry of *The king is recovered.* When this monarch was informed of theſe uncommon tranſports of joy, which ſucceeded the general ſorrow, he melted into tears, and raiſing himſelf up, through an emotion of ſenſibility which gave him ſtrength, cried out, *What a pleaſure it is to be thus beloved! What have I done to deſerve it?*

Such are the people of France; ſuſceptible even to enthuſiaſm, and capable of any exceſs in their affections as well as in their reſentments.

The archdutcheſs, ſpouſe to the prince of Lorrain, died about this time at Bruſſels, in a very deplorable manner. She was greatly and juſtly beloved by the

the people of Brabant; but thoſe people are not ſo paſſionate in their attachments as the French.

Courtiers are not like common people.---The danger of Lewis XV. excited among them, even more diſputes and intrigues than prevailed when Lewis XIV. was upon the point of death at Calais. His grandſon found their effects in Metz.---At the very time when they hourly expected his death, they troubled him with the moſt impertinent overtures, inſpired, as they pretended, by the moſt religious motives; though as contrary to reaſon, as void of humanity:---But he eſcaped the ſnares of death as well as thoſe of his courtiers.

He had no ſooner perfectly recovered his underſtanding, than he reflected

fected in the midſt of his own perſonal danger, on that into which prince Charles, by his paſſage over the Rhine, had thrown all France. He had marched with no other deſign than that of attacking that prince; but, having ſent marſhal Noailles in his place, he ſaid to count d'Argenſon, *Write in my name to marſhal Noailles, and tell him, that while Lewis XIV. was carried to his grave, the prince of Condé gained a battle.*---The French, nevertheleſs, with great difficulty, cut off part of the arrear guard of prince Charles, who retired in good order. This prince, who had paſſed the Rhine in ſight of the French troops, repaſſed it without loſs, in the face of a ſuperior army. The king of Pruſſia complained, that they had thus let an

enemy

enemy eſcape, who was coming againſt him.---This was an opportunity luckily miſſed.---The illneſs of the king of France, the delays occaſioned in the march of his troops, a difficult and fenny country, which the king muſt have paſſed over to meet the prince, together with the precautions he had taken, and the bridges he had ſecured; in ſhort, every thing facilitated this retreat, in which he loſt not even a magazine.

Having now repaſſed the Rhine with full 50,000 men, he marched towards the Danube and the Elbe, with incredible expedition, and after having penetrated in to France to the gates of Straſbourg, he went, a ſecond time, to deliver Bohemia. But the king of Pruſſia advanced towards Prague,

Prague, which he inveſted the 4th of September; and what appeared very ſtrange, general Ogilvy, who defended it with 50,000 men, ſurrendered himſelf, in ten days after, with his whole garriſon priſoners of war. This was the ſame governor who, in 1741, ſurrendered the town in ſtill leſs time, when it was ſtormed by the French.

An army of 15,000 men priſoners of war, the capital of Bohemia taken, the reſt of the kingdom ſubmitting in a few days after, Moravia invaded at the ſame time, the French army entering again into Germany, and the ſucceſs in Italy, all gave hopes that the grand quarrel of Europe was going to be decided in favour of the emperor Charles VII.

Lewis

Lewis XV. though not perfectly recovered, reſolved upon beſieging Fribourg in September, and accordingly marched his troops for that purpoſe. He paſſed the Rhine in his turn; and what added to his hopes, was, that upon his arrival at Straſbourg, he received the news of a victory gained by the prince of Conti.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Battle of CONI. *The Conduct of the King of* FRANCE. *The King of* NAPLES *ſurprized near* ROME.

TO make a deſcent into the Milaneſe, it is neceſſary to take the town of Coni, and therefore the infant don Philip, and the prince of Conti beſieged it. The king of Sardinia attacked them in their lines with a ſuperior army, and nothing could be better concerted than the enterpriſe of this monarch.---It was one of thoſe occaſions on which it was politic to give battle. If he proved conqueror, the French would have but

few

few reſources, and a retreat was extremely difficult; if he was conquered, the town would not have been in a worſe condition to defend itſelf at this advanced ſeaſon, and his retreat was ſecured. The diſpoſition of his troops was the moſt artful that ever was made: He was nevertheleſs defeated. The French and Spaniards fought as allies which aſſiſted each other, and as rivals in point of bravery. The king of Sardinia loſt near five thouſand men, with the field of battle. The Spaniards loſt only nine hundred men, and the French had one thouſand two hundred men killed and wounded. The prince of Conti, who acted the ſoldier as well as general, had his cuiraſs pierced twice, and two horſes killed under him. He mentioned nothing

thing of this in his letter to the king, but he enlarged on the wounds of Meſſieurs de la Force, de Senneterre, and de Chavelin; on the ſignal ſervices of Monſ. de Courter, or thoſe of Meſſrs. de Choiſel, de Chala, de Beaupreau, on all thoſe which had ſeconded him, and requeſted rewards for their ſervices. This hiſtory would be a mere catalogue, if it were poſſible to relate all thoſe meritorious actions, which, by becoming common, are loſt in their multiplicity.

But yet, this new victory was in the number of thoſe, which occaſioned loſſes without producing any real advantages to the conquerors. Above 120 battles have been fought in Europe ſince the year 1600, and among them all, ten only were deciſive.

ſive. Thus hath blood been idly ſpilt on account of intereſts, which every day change hands. This victory at firſt raiſed confidence, which ſoon changed into deſpair: The rigour of the ſeaſon, the melting of the ſnow, the overflowing of the Sture, and the torrents from the mountains, were more uſeful to the king of Sardinia than the victory of Coni was to the infant and the prince of Conti. The two latter, therefore, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and to repaſs the mountains with an army very much weakened. It is almoſt always the lot of thoſe who make a campaign near the Alps, if they have not the maſter of Piedmont on their ſide, to loſe their troops even by their victories.

The king of France, in this wet ſeaſon, lay before Fribourg. The beſiegers were obliged to turn the courſe of the river Treiſen, and to open a canal two thouſand ſix hundred toiſes in length; but ſcarce was the work finiſhed than the dykes broke, and their work was to do over again. They laboured under the fire of the caſtle of Fribourg, and it was neceſſary to let open two branches of the river at once. The bridges built upon the new canal, were alſo damaged by the water. Theſe they repaired in one night, and the next day puſhed on for the covered-way over the enemy's mines, and in the face of a continual fire of muſquetry and artillery. Five hundred men were buried in the earth, killed or wounded. Two whole

whole companies were totally deſtroyed by the exploſion of the mines in the covered-way, and the next day they compleatly drove out the enemy, in ſpite of the bombs, ſtones and granades, with which they made a conſtant and terrible havock. They had ſixteen engineers in theſe two attacks, every one of whom was wounded. A ſtone ſtruck the prince de Soubiſe, and broke his arm; of which, as ſoon as the king was informed, he went to ſee him, repeating his viſits, and ſtaying to ſee his wounds dreſſed. —This tenderneſs in the monarch greatly encouraged the whole army.— The ſoldiers redoubled their ardour in following the duke de Chartres, now duke of Orleans, and firſt prince

of the blood, who led them on to the trenches.

General Damnitz, governor of Fribourg, did not hang out the white flag 'till the 6th of November, two months after the opening of the trenches. The reſiſtance of the caſtle laſted only ſeven days. The king, was now maſter of Briſgau, commanded all Suabia, while the prince of Clermont, on his part, was advanced even to Conſtance; the emperor being returned at laſt to Munich.

The affairs in Italy alſo took a favourable turn, although very ſlowly. The king of Naples purſued the Auſtrians, conducted by the prince of Lobkowitz, upon the territories of Rome. Every thing was to be expected in Bohemia from the diverſion

of the king of Pruſſia; but, by a reverſe of fortune, ſo common in this war, prince Charles of Lorrain drove the Pruſſians out of Bohemia, as he had driven the French in 1742 and 1743; the Pruſſians committing the ſame blunders, and retreating in the manner with which they had reproached the French. They abandoned ſucceſſively, all the poſts which ſecured Prague; and at laſt were even obliged to abandon Prague itſelf.

Prince Charles, who had paſſed the Rhine in ſight of the French army, paſſed the Elbe the ſame year in the ſight of that of the king of Pruſſia, which he followed almoſt to Sileſia. His flying parties went up to the very gates of Breſlau; and it was at length doubted, whether the queen of Hungary, who appeared

in the month of June to be totally undone, would not begin the war again at Sileſia in the month of December in the ſame year. Nay, it was apprehended, that the emperor, who had re-entered his deſolate capital, would be obliged to abandon it again.

All Germany was the ſubject of revolution, and of political intrigue. The kings of France and England alternately purchaſed partiſans in the empire. Auguſtus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, ſold himſelf to the Engliſh for one hundred and fifty thouſand guineas per annum. If every one was aſtoniſhed that in theſe circumſtances a king of Poland and elector of the empire, was obliged to receive this money, they were more ſo, that England was in a condition to

give

give it, after having given 500,000 guineas the ſame year to the queen of Hungary, 200,000 to the king of Sardinia, and her ſtill paying ſubſidies to the elector of Mentz; likewiſe paying ſoldiers for the elector of Cologne, brother to the emperor; who received alſo 22,000 guineas of the court of London, for permitting the enemies of his brother to raiſe troops againſt him in the biſhopricks of Cologne, Munſter, and Oſnaburg, Ildeſheim, Paderborn, and his abbeys; for he had accumulated to himſelf all theſe eccleſiaſtical benefices, according to the cuſtom of Germany, and not according to the rules of the church. His ſelling himſelf to the Engliſh, was not very honourable, but he always believed, that an emperor created

by France could not ſupport himſelf, and therefore ſacrificed the intereſts of his brother to his own.

Maria Thereſa had in Flanders a formidable army, compoſed of Germans, Engliſh, and of the Dutch, who at length declared themſelves, after a long neutrality.

French Flanders was defended by marſhal Saxe, whoſe army was leſs in in number by twenty thouſand men, than that of the allies. But this general had recourſe to thoſe military reſources, which neither depend on fortune, nor the valour of troops.—To camp and decamp at proper times, to cover his own country, to maintain his army at the expence of the enemy; to invade their country when they advance on his, and force them to retreat;

retreat; to render force uſeleſs, by means of artifice—theſe are regarded as maſter-pieces in the art military; and theſe marſhal Saxe put in practice from the month of Auguſt to the beginning of November.

The diſputes about the Auſtrian ſucceſſion increaſed daily, the fate of the emperor grew more uncertain; the intereſts of the contending parties more complicated, and the ſucceſs of their arms reciprocal.

It is true that this war ſecretly enriched Germany, at the ſame time that its country was laid waſte. The money of France, diſſipated with ſo much profuſion, remained in the hands of Germans, and, in the end, rendered this extenſive country more opulent, and conſequently, ſometime or other more pow-

powerful, if ever it could be reunited under one chief.

It was not thus with Italy, whoſe ſtrength was now much inferior to that of the Germans. France ſent into the Alps but forty-two battalions and thirty-three ſquadrons; which, the troops being as uſual incomplete, amounted in the whole only to ſix-and-twenty thouſand men. The infant's army amounted to near the ſame number in the beginning of the campaign, and both of them, ſo far from enriching a foreign country, drew almoſt all their ſubſiſtence from the provinces of France. With regard to the territories of the pope, on which prince Lobkowitz, the Auſtrian general, was poſted with the major part of thirty thouſand men, they

were alſo more impoveriſhed than enriched by them. This part of Italy ſoon became a ſcene of blood in the vaſt theatre of that war which extended itſelf from the Danube to the Tiber.

The armies of the queen of Hungary were upon the point of conquering the kingdom of Naples in the months of March, April, and May 1744. Ever ſince the month of July the Neapolitan and Auſtrian armies were fighting on the territories of Rome. The king of Naples, and the duke of Modena were in Velletri, formerly capital of the Volſci, now inhabited by the Deans of the Holy College. The king of the Two Sicilies occupied the palace of Genetti, an edifice of great magnificence and taſte. The enter-

enterprize of prince Lobkowitz at Velletri, turned out like that of prince Eugene at Cremona in 1702; for hiſtory is only a detail of the ſame events repeated with ſome variation. Six thouſand Auſtrians entered Velletri in the middle of the night; cut to pieces the great guard; killed thoſe who made reſiſtance, and made priſoners of thoſe who did not. The conſternation and alarm were univerſal: The king of Naples and the duke of Modena, were in danger of being taken. The marquis de l'Hopital, ambaſſador of France to the court of Naples, who accompanied the king, awakened by the noiſe, fled to his aſſiſtance and ſaved him. He was no ſooner gone from his houſe, than it was filled with ſoldiers, plundered

dered and ranſacked. The king, followed by the duke of Modena, and the ambaſſador, went to put himſelf at the head of the troops without the town. The Auſtrians diſtributed themſelves in the houſes, and general Novati took poſſeſſion of the duke of Modena's.

Whilſt the Auſtrians were thus buſy in pillaging and rejoicing in their ſecurity, the ſame thing happened as at Cremona. The walloon guards, an Iriſh regiment, and ſome Swiſs, repulſed them, ſtrewed the ſtreets with dead, and retook the town. Prince Lobkowitz was, a few days after, obliged to retire towards Rome. The king of Naples purſued him; the prince made towards one gate of the town, and the king to another; both of them

them paſſed the Tiber, and the people of Rome had the ſight of both armies from the Ramparts.—The king under the name of the count of Pouzeoli. His guards were under arms in the ſtreets while he was kiſſing the pope's toe; and the two armies continued the war upon the territories of Rome, which gave thanks to heaven that the ravages of war were carried at a diſtance from the capital.

In a word, it is plain that Italy was the grand point in view at the court of Spain, that Germany was a moſt delicate object with reſpect to the conduct of the court of France, and that, on both ſides, ſucceſs was as yet wholly dubious.

CHAP. XIV.

The taking of MARSHAL BELLISLE. *The Emperor* CHARLES VII. *dies; but the War is carried on with more Vigour from this Event.*

THE king of France immediately after the taking of Fribourg returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his country, and as a father whom they had been fearful of loſing. He remained three days there to ſhew himſelf to the inhabitants, who, by this act of condeſcenſion, thought themſelves ſufficiently rewarded for their zeal.

The king intending always to ſupport the emperor, ſent marſhal Belliſle

to

to Munich, to Caſſel, and into Sileſia, charged with full powers from him and the emperor. This general was coming from Munich, the imperial reſidence, with the count his brother: They had been at Caſſel, and followed their route, without any ſuſpicion, through countries in which the king of Pruſſia had every where poſt-houſes, which, by conventions eſtabliſhed between the princes of Germany, are always regarded as neuter and inviolable.---As the marſhall and his brother, were taking horſes from one of theſe offices, in a village called Elbinrode, belonging to the elector of Hanover, they were arreſted by the Hanoverian bailiff, very ill uſed, and in a little time after ſent over to England. The duke of Belliſle

Belliſle was a prince of the empire, and by this dignity, the arreſt might have been looked on as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times an emperor would have revenged the illegality of this proceeding; but Charles VII. reigned at a time when every thing might be attempted againſt him, and he had no remedy but complaints.—The French miniſter pleaded at once all the privileges of ambaſſadors, and the rights of war. If marſhal Belliſle was regarded as prince of the empire, and miniſter of the king of France, going to the Pruſſian and Imperial courts, as neither of theſe were at war with Hanover, it was very certain that his perſon was inviolable. If he was looked on as a general

and marſhal of France: the king of France offered to pay his and his brother's ranſom, according to the regulation eſtabliſhed at Franckfort the 18th of June, 1743, between France and England. The ranſom of a marſhal of France is fifty thouſand livres, and that of a lieutenant-general fifteen thouſand. The miniſter of *George the Second* eluded theſe preſſing remonſtrances by a ſtrange and unheard-of evaſion. He declared that he regarded Meſſrs. de *Belliſle* as priſoners of ſtate. They were treated with the moſt diſtinguiſhed attention, according to the maxims of moſt the of courts of Europe, who ſoften the injuſtice of policy, and the cruelty of war, by even ſeducing external acts of humanity.

The

The emperor Charles VII. ſo little reſpected in the empire, and having in it no other ſupport than the king of Pruſſia, who was at this time purſued by prince Charles, fearing that the queen of Hungary would force him once more to abandon Munich, his capital; ſeeing himſelf the ſport of fortune, and borne down with diſeaſes, which his chagrin increaſed exceedingly, at length ſunk beneath their accumulated weight, and died at Munich on the 20th of January, 1745, aged forty-ſeven years and ſix months; leaving this leſſon to the world, that the ſummit of human grandeur may be the height of calamity. He had only been unfortunate ſince he became an emperor. Nature from that moment had been more cruel to

him than fortune. A complication of painful diſorders rendered his misfortunes more violent by his corporal ſufferings, and they jointly carried him to the grave. He was afflicted with the gout and ſtone: his liver, lungs, and ſtomach were found gangrened; ſtones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart; ſo that it was imagined he could not have enjoyed a moment's eaſe for ſome time paſt. Few princes had better qualities. They ſerved only to heighten his unhappineſs; and this unhappineſs aroſe from his having taken upon himſelf a burthen he was unable to bear.

The body of this unfortunate prince was expoſed, dreſſed in the ancient Spaniſh faſhion; an etiquette eſtabliſhed

by Charles the Fifth, although ſince him no emperor has been a Spaniard, nor had Charles VII. any connection with that nation. He was interred according to the ceremonies of the empire; and in this parade of human vanity and miſery, they carried the globe of the world in proceſſion before him, who, during the ſhort courſe of his reign, could not keep poſſeſſion even of one ſmall unfortunate province; they gave him alſo in ſome reſcripts the title of invincible, a title given by ancient cuſtom to the Imperial dignity; and which only ſerved to give him a deeper ſenſe of his misfortunes.

It was believed that the cauſe of the war no long exiſting, peace might be reſtored to Europe. The empire

could not be offered to the ſon of Charles the Seventh, who was only ſeventeen years of age. Germany flattered itſelf that the queen of Hungary would be inclined to peace, as a ſure means of placing her huſband, the *Grand Duke*, on the Imperial Throne; but ſhe was reſolved to ſeat him in it, and at the ſame time to continue the war.

The Engliſh miniſter who gave the law to the allies, ſince he furniſhed them with money, and who paid at once the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland and the king of Sardinia, thought there was ſomething to loſe by a treaty with France, and ſomething to gain by the force of arms.

This

This general war was continued merely becauſe it was begun. The object was not the ſame as in its origin. It was one of thoſe diſeaſes, which, in their progreſs, change their character. Flanders, which was ſpared before 1744, was now become the principal theatre of war, and Germany was rather an object for the exerciſe of the politics of France, than for military operations. The French miniſtry, who wiſhed always to appoint the emperor, caſt their eyes on *Auguſtus* the ſecond, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, who was in the Engliſh pay; but France was not quite in a condition to make ſuch an offer. The Imperial throne was a dangerous acquiſition for any one who did not poſſeſs Auſtria and Hungary. The court of France was refuſed. The elector of Sax-

ony neither dared to accept this honour, recede from the Engliſh, nor diſpleaſe the queen.—He was the ſecond elector of Saxony who refuſed to be emperor.

There remained to France no other reſource but to expect from the fate of arms, the deciſion of ſo many different intereſts which have varied ſo often, and in all their variations had conſtantly kept all Europe in alarm.

The new elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Joſeph, was the third, from father to ſon, whom France had ſupported. France had cauſed the grandfather to be re-eſtabliſhed in his dominions. She had given the empire to the father, and her monarch now made a freſh effort to aſſiſt the young prince.

prince. Six thouſand Heſſians in his pay; three thouſand Palatines, and thirteen batallions of Germans, which had been for a long time in the French ſervice, were already joined to the Bavarian troops, which were always in the king's pay.

That ſo many ſuccours might be efficacious, it was neceſſary that the Bavarians ſhould help themſelves, but their deſtiny was to fall under the Auſtrians; they defended the entry into their country ſo badly, that in the beginning of April the new elector was obliged to abandon the ſame capital, that his father had been ſo often obliged to quit. This misfortunes of his houſe forced him in the end to apply even to Maria Thereſa, to renounce the alliance of France, and to receive

Engliſh

Engliſh money with the reſt of the allies.

The king of France abandoned by thoſe for whom he had begun the war, was obliged to continue it, only with a view to put an end to it; a melancholy ſituation which expoſes the ſubject, and does not promiſe them any indemnification.

The courſe he took, was to ſtand on his defence in Italy and in Germany, and to act always offenſively in Flanders, the ancient ſeat of the war; and there was not a ſingle field in this province but was ſprinkled with blood. An army towards the Maine, hindered the Auſtrians from acting againſt the king of Pruſſia, then the ally of France, with ſuperior forces. Marſhal Mallebois was gone from

from Germany to Italy; and the prince of Conti was charged with the war on the ſide of the Maine, which was of a different kind from that he had carried on in the Alps.

The king reſolved to finiſh, in perſon, the conqueſts in Flanders, which he had interrupted the preceding year. He had married the dauphin, in the month of February, to the ſecond infanta of Spain; and this young prince, who was but juſt turned of ſixteen, prepared to accompany his father, in the beginning of May.

CHAP. XV.

The Siege of TOURNAY. *The Battle of* FONTENOY.

MARSHAL Saxe was already in Flanders, at the head of an army compoſed of one hundred and ſix complete battalions, and one hundred and ſeventy-two ſquadrons. Tournay, the ancient capital of the French dominions, was already inveſted. It was the ſtrongeſt place of the whole Barrier. The town and citadel was likewiſe one of the maſter-pieces of Monſ. Vauban; for there was ſcarce a town in all Flanders to which Lewis XIV. had not built fortifications.

As

As ſoon as the States General of the Seven Provinces learned that Tournay was in danger, they ſent word, it was neceſſary to hazard a battle for the defence of the town. Theſe Republicans, in ſpite of their circumſpection, were at that time the firſt to take bold reſolutions. On the fifth of May the allies marched towards Cambron, within ſeven leagues of Tournay. The king ſet out from Paris with the dauphin on the ſixth. The king's aid-de-camp, and the minions of his ſon, accompanied them.

The principal force of the enemy's army was twenty battalions, and twenty-ſix Engliſh ſquadrons, under the command of the young duke of Cumberland, who, with his royal father, had

had gained the battle of Dettingen: five battalions and ſixteen Hanoverian ſquadrons were joined to the Engliſh.

The prince of *Waldeck*, about the age of the duke of *Cumberland*, impatient to ſignalize himſelf, was at the head of forty Dutch ſquadrons, and ſix and twenty batallions. The Auſtrians had only eight ſquadrons in this army. The war was carried on for them in Flanders, which had been ſo long defended by the arms and money of England and Holland. But at the head of this ſmall number of Auſtrians, was the old general *Konigſeg*, who had commanded againſt the Turks in Hungary, and againſt the French in Italy and Germany. His advice was to temper the ardour of the

the duke of *Cumberland*, and of prince of *Waldeck*. This army was reckoned to conſiſt of no more than fifty-five thouſand fighting men. The king left about eighteen thouſand men before Tournay, which were poſted in a line, extending to the field of battle; ſix thouſand to guard the bridges and their communications upon the L'Eſcaut.

The army was under the order of a general in whom the king juſtly placed the greateſt confidence. Count Saxe had already merited his high reputation, by his ſkilful retreats in Germany, and by his campaign of 1744; to the practical part, he joined a profound theory, vigilance, and ſecrecy, the art of knowing how to alter a project in good time, and to execute it with rapidity; preſence of mind

mind, reſources, and foreſight, were talents which he poſſeſſed by the general acknowledgment of all the officers; but then this general was waſting daily, by a *conſumptive* diſorder, and was almoſt at death's door. He was very ill when he ſet out from Paris for the army. The author of this hiſtory having even met him before his departure, could not forbear aſking him, how he could think of going to the army hardly alive; to which the marſhal replied, I am not to think about living but going to my duty.

The king arriving on the ſixth at Douay, went the next day to Pontachin near the Eſcaut, and within the reach of the trenches at Tournay. From thence he went to reconnoitre the

the ground which was to be the field of battle. The whole army at ſight of the king and the dauphin gave acclamations of joy. The allies paſſed the 10th and the 11th in making their laſt diſpoſitions. The king never ſhewed more gaiety than on the eve of the battle. The converſation ran upon the battles the kings of France had been preſent at. The monarch obſerved, that ſince the battle of Poictiers, no king of France had fought in company with his ſon; that no one had gained a ſignal victory over the Engliſh, and that he hoped to be the firſt. He was awakened the firſt on the day of action; at four o'clock he himſelf called up count d'Argenſon, ſecretary at war, who immediately ſent to marſhal Saxe, to demand his laſt

orders. The marſhal was found in an ozier carriage, which ſerved him for a bed, and in which he was drawn when his exhauſted ſtrength obliged him to quit his horſe. The king and his ſon had already paſſed a bridge over the Eſcaut at Calonne; they went to take their poſt beyond the gallows de Notre Dame, in the wood, a thouſand toiſes from this bridge, and exactly at the entry of the field of battle.

The retinue of the king and dauphin, which compoſed a numerous troop, were followed by a croud of all ſorts of people, whom curioſity had excited, and ſome were even mounted into trees, to have a view of the battle.

By

By caſting an eye upon the maps, which are very common, any one may at firſt ſight ſee the diſpoſition of the two armies. Antoine is diſcoverable very near the Eſcaut, on the right of the French army, and at nine hundred toiſes from the bridge of Calonne, by which the king and the dauphin had advanced. The village of Fontenoy, beyond Antoine, was almoſt upon the ſame line; a narrow ſpace four hundred and fifty toiſes in length, lying between Fontenoy and a little wood, called the wood of Barri. This wood and villages were planted with cannon, like an entrenched ground. Marſhal Saxe had eſtabliſhed ſome redoubts between Antoine and Fontenoy; others at the extremity of the wood of Barri fortified this incloſure. The

field of battle was only five hundred toiſes in length, from the place where the king was near the village of Fontenoy, quite to the wood of Barri, and was little more than nine hundred toiſes in breadth; ſo that they were to fight in an incloſed ground as at Dettingen, but in a more fortunate hour.

The general of the French army had provided for victory or a defeat. The bridge of Calonne, furniſhed with cannon, fortified by intrenchments, and defended by ſome battalions, was to ſerve for a retreat to the king and dauphin, in caſe of misfortune. The reſt of the army was to have filed off to the other bridges upon the lower Eſcaut, beyond Tournay.

All the meaſures were taken which could mutually aſſiſt each other, without any danger of running counter to any of them. The French army ſeemed inacceſſible; for the croſs-fire which came from the redoubts of the wood of Barri, and from the village of Fontenoy, barred all approach. Beſides theſe precautions they had placed ſix cannon, of ſixteen pounders each, on this ſide the Eſcaut, to annoy the troops that might attack the village of Antoine.

At ſix in the morning the two armies began to cannonade each other. Marſhal Noailles was at this time near Fontenoy, and gave an account to marſhal Saxe of what he had done in the beginning of the night, to join the village of Fontenoy,

to the firſt of the three redoubts, between Fontenoy and Antoine. He ſerved him as firſt aid-de-camp, ſacrificing his jealouſy of command, to the good of the ſtate, and ſubmitting himſelf to a general, who was a foreigner and a junior officer. Marſhal Saxe perceived the force of this magnanimity, and never was ſeen ſo ſtrict an union between two perſons, whom the ordinary weakneſs of the human heart might have rendered irreconcilable enenemies.

Marſhal Noailles embraced the duke of Grammont his nephew, and they ſeparated, the one to return to the king, and the other to his poſt, when a cannon ball killed the duke of Grammont. He was the firſt victim of the day.

The

The Engliſh attacked Fontenoy thrice, and the Dutch preſented themſelves before Antoine. At their ſecond attack almoſt a whole ſquadron of the latter were cut off by the cannon of Antoine; only fifteen men remained, and the Hollanders never rallied afterwards.

Then the duke of Cumberland took a reſolution, which ſeemed to ſecure him the ſucceſs of the day. He ordered major general Ingolſby to enter into the wood of Barri, to penetrate to the redoubt of this wood oppoſite Fontenoy, and to take it. Ingolſby marched with the beſt troops to execute this order. He found in the wood of Barri a battalion of the regiment of a Partiſan, who were called *Graſſins*, from the name of him

who had formed them. Theſe ſoldiers had advanced into the wood beyond the redoubt, and lay upon the ground. Ingolſby thinking they were a conſiderable corps, returns to the duke and requires ſome cannon. The favourable moment was thus loſt. The prince was amazed at a diſobedience which diſconcerted his meaſures, and puniſhed him for it afterwards at London by a Council of War, called a Court Martial.

He determined in an inſtant to paſs between this redoubt and Fontenoy. The ground was ſteep; it was neceſſary to clear a broken hollow road; he was obliged alſo to paſs the fires of Fontenoy and of the redoubt. The enterprize was daring; but he was reduced

duced at that time either to loſe the battle, or to attempt this paſſage.

The Engliſh and Hanoverians advanced with him almoſt without diſordering their ranks, drawing their cannon themſelves through the foot ways. His highneſs formed them in three very cloſe lines of four ranks deep, advancing between the batteries which were diſcharged on them, into a piece of ground about four hundred toiſes in breadth. Whole ranks fell on the right and left; they were immediately recruited, and the cannon which they drew up oppoſite Fontenoy, and before the redoubts, oppoſed the French artillery. In this manner they marched fiercely, preceded by ſix pieces of artillery, and having likewiſe

wiſe ſix others in the middle of their lines.

Oppoſite to them they found four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiſs at their left; the regiment of *Courten* at their right, thoſe of Aubeterre following behind them; the king's regiment, which covered Fontenoy, extending along a hollow road.

The ground aſcended from the place where the French guards were, to that where the Engliſh were formed.

The French officers directly conſulted among themſelves, and ſaid one to the other, we muſt go and take the Engliſh cannon. They mounted rapidly with their grenadiers, but they were much aſtoniſhed to find an army

before them. The artillery and muſquetry levelled ſixty to the ground, and the reſt were obliged to fall back into their ranks.

In the mean time the Engliſh advanced, and this line of infantry, compoſed of French and Swiſs guards, having likewiſe upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre and a battalion of the king's regiment, approached the enemy. They were about fifty yards diſtance. A regiment of Engliſh guards, thoſe of *Campbell*, and the Royal Scots were the firſt. Sir James Campbell was their lieutenant-general, the Earl of Albemarle, major-general, and Mr. Churchill, natural grandchild of the Great Duke of Marlborough, their brigadier: the Engliſh officers ſaluted the French by pulling off

off their hats. The count of Chabanne, and the duke Biron, who were advanced, and all the officers of the French guards returned them the ſalute. Lord Charles Hay, captain of the Engliſh guards, cried, "*Gentleman of the French guards,* "*fire.*"

The count d'Auteroche, at that time lieutenant of the grenadiers, and afterwards captain, replied, in a high voice, gentlemen, "we never fire "firſt, fire yourſelves." The Engliſh made a running fire at them, that is to ſay, they fired in diviſions, in a manner that one battalion of four ranks deep having fired, another battalion made a diſcharge, and afterwards a third, while the firſt re-charged.

The

The line of French infantry did not fire thus; they conſiſted of a ſingle line of four ranks, at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, and not ſupported by any other troops of infantry. Nineteen officers of the guards fell wounded by this ſingle diſcharge. Meſſieurs *de Clinſon*, *de Langey*, *de la Peyre*, loſt their lives by it; ninety-five ſoldiers were killed, and two hundred and eighty-five were wounded; eleven of the Swiſs officers were wounded, alſo two hundred and nine ſoldiers, among which ſixty-four died on the ſpot. Colonel *Courten*, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and ſeventy-five ſoldiers were killed; and fourteen officers and two hundred ſoldiers were dangerouſly wounded. The firſt rank thus ſwept off, and the three

three others looking behind them, and not ſeeing but one regiment of cavalry, at more than three hundred toiſes diſtance, they diſperſed. The duke of Grammont their colonel and firſt lieutenant-general, who might have rallied them, was killed. Monſ. Luttaux, ſecond lieutenant-general, arrived after they had given way. The Engliſh advanced ſlowly as if performing their exerciſe; the majors with their canes levelling the ſoldiers guns to make them fire low and ſtrait. They broke in upon Fontenoy and the redoubt. This corps which before was in three diviſions, cloſing by the nature of the ground, became a long and thick column, almoſt impregnable from its maſs, and more ſo by its bravery, and advanced towards the regiment

regiment of Aubeterre. Monſ. Luttaux, firſt general of the army, at the news of this danger, came from Fontenoy where he had juſt been dangerouſly wounded. His aid-de-camp begged him to get his wound dreſſed, *The king's ſervice*, anſwered Monſ. *Luttaux*, *is more dear to me than my life*. He advanced with the duke de *Biron* at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, which was led on by its colonel of that name. Luttaux received at his arrival two mortal wounds. The duke de Biron had a horſe killed under him. The regiment of Aubeterre loſt a great many of its officers and ſoldiers. The duke de Biron, then with the king's regiment that he commanded, ſtopped the march of the column by this left flank. A detached battalion

a little

of Engliſh guards upon this advanced a little towards him, made a furious diſcharge, and retired leiſurely to replace themſelves at the head of the column, which ſtill advanced ſlowly without ever breaking their ranks, repulſing one after another every regiment that advanced to them.

This corps kept gaining ground always cloſe and always firm.—Marſhal Saxe ſeeing with fortitude the greatneſs of the danger, ſent word by the marquis de *Meuze* to the king, that he conjured him to repaſs the bridge with the dauphin, and that he would do all in his power to remedy the diſorder; Oh, I am very well aſſured that he will perform his duty, replied the king, but I, will remain where I am.

From

From the moment the French and Swiſs guards were routed, there was nothing but aſtoniſhment and confuſion throughout the French army. Marſhal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the Engliſh. The count d'Eſtres undertook it. But the efforts of this cavalry were of little effect againſt a body of infantry ſo united, ſo diſciplined, and ſo intrepid, whoſe running fire conſtantly kept up, neceſſarily diſperſed little ſeparate corps. It is indeed well known that cavalry alone can ſcarce break through a cloſe infantry. Marſhal Saxe was in the middle of this fire: he was ſo weakened by his diſorder that he could not bear a common breaſt-plate; he wore a ſort of buckler, made of ſeveral folds of quilted taffety, which reſted

upon the pommel of his ſaddle. He threw down his buckler upon this occaſion, and flew to make the ſecond line of cavalry advance againſt the column.

All the field officers were in motion. Monſ. *de Vaudreuil*, major-general of the army, went from the right to the left, Monſ. *de Puiſegur*, Meſſrs. *de Saint Sauveur*, *de Saint George*, and *de Meziere*, deputy quarter-maſters, were all wounded. The count *de Longaunai*, *aid-major-general*, *was killed.* It was in theſe attacks that the chevalier *d'Aché*, lieutenant-general, had his foot ſhattered to pieces: after which he came to report the ſituation of affairs to the king, and converſed with him a long time, without giving the leaſt

ſign

ſign of the pains he felt, till at laſt he fainted away.

The more the Engliſh column advanced the deeper it formed, and was in a condion to repair the continual loſſes it ſuſtained by ſo many repeated attacks. The men marched cloſe over the dead and wounded of both parties, and ſeemed to make one ſingle corps of about fourteen thouſand men.

A great number of the cavalry were puſhed in diſorder cloſe to the place where the king was with his ſon. Theſe two princes were ſeparated by the crouds of thoſe who fled, and threw themſelves in between them. During this diſorder the brigades of the body guards who were in reſerve, advanced of themſelves towards the

enemy. The chevaliers *de Suzy* and *de Saumery* were mortally wounded. Four ſquadrons of the *Gendarmerie* arrived almoſt at this moment from Douay, and notwithſtanding the fatigue of a march of ſeven leagues, ran towards the enemy. All theſe corps were received like the other with the ſame intrepidity and running fire. The young count *de Chevrier*, an enſign, was killed, and on the very day which he joined his company. The chevalier *de Monaco*, ſon to the duke of *Valentinois*, was wounded in the leg. Monſ. *de Gueſclin* received alſo a very dangerous wound. The Carbineers gave way; having loſt ſix officers, and had twenty one wounded.

Marſhal Saxe, who was quite exhauſted, kept ſtill on horſeback, in the

the midſt of the firing. He paſſed under the front of the Engliſh column, to ſee with own eyes all that paſſed towards the left, near the wood of Barri. They made the ſame manœuvers there as on the right; but attempted in vain to break this column.

All the regiments preſented themſelves one after the other, and the whole body of the Engliſh faced them on all ſides; placing their cannon properly and firing by diviſions. Thus they kept up a perpetual fire, when they were attacked, and after the attack left off firing and remained immoveable. Some regiments of infantry came once more to annoy this column by the ſole orders of their commanders. Marſhal Saxe ſaw one

of them: whole ranks of which fell before the enemy, yet the reſt ſtood their ground. He was told it was the regiment *des Vaiſſeaux*, commanded by Monſ. *de Guerchi*; *How can it poſſibly happen*, cried he, *that ſuch troops ſhould not be victorious?*

The regiment of Hainault ſuffered equal loſs; their colonel was the ſon of the prince of *Craon*, governor of Tuſcany. The father ſerved the Great Duke, the children, and the king of France. This young gentleman, of whom very great hopes were formed, was killed at the head of his regiment, and his lieutenant-colonel died of his wounds by his ſide. The regiment of Normandy advanced, and loſt as many officers and ſoldiers as that of Hainault: it was led on

by the lieutenant-colonel, Monſ. *de Solency*, whoſe bravery the king particularly noticed on the field of battle, and recompenced afterwards by making him a brigadier.—Some Iriſh battalions ran to attack the column in flank, and their colonel M. *Dillon* was killed. Thus no corps, no attack had been found ſufficient to penetrate this column, and the reaſon was that nothing had been done in concert, and all at once, but each regiment had acted ſeparately.

Marſhal Saxe repaſſed the front of the column, which was already advanced above three hundred paces behind the redoubts of Eu and of Fontenoy. He went to ſee if Fontenoy ſtill held out; their bullets were all

ſpent, and they fired only with powder.

Monſ. Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery, and many of the officers were killed. The marſhal begged count *d'Harcourt*, whom he then met, to go and conjure the king to retire, and likewiſe ſent orders to count *de la Mark*, who guarded *Antoine*, to repair to him with the regiment of Piedmont; the battle appearing to be loſt without reſource. They collected together the cannon from all parts of the country; and they were on the point of taking thoſe from Fontenoy, although the bullets were arrived. The intention of marſhal Saxe was to make, if poſſible, a laſt effort againſt the

Engliſh

Engliſh column, better directed and more general than the former.

This body of infantry was greatly weakened, notwithſtanding its depth appeared ſtill the ſame; they were even aſtoniſhed to find themſelves in the midſt of the French without any cavalry: they ſeemed to remain immoveable, and no longer under orders; but they kept up a good face, and appeared to be maſters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had paſſed between the redoubts, which lay towards Fontenoy and Antoine; if they had given proper aſſiſtance to the Engliſh, no reſource had been left, not even a retreat for the French army, nor probably for the king and the dauphin. The ſucceſs of a laſt attack was uncertain. Marſhal Saxe, who

who ſaw that victory or an entire defeat depended upon this final aſſault, endeavoured to prepare a ſure retreat; he ſent a ſecond order to the count *de la Mark* to evacuate Antoine, and to advance to the bridge of *Calonne* to cover that retreat in caſe of a total defeat*. He ſent a third order to

* Thoſe who at their leiſure read the accounts of the ancient battles of *Arbella*, of *Zama*, of *Cannæ*, and of *Pharſalia*, will ſcarcely comprehend the nature of modern battles. In thoſe times the combatants cloſed; arrows were only the prelude; the conteſt was who ſhould penetrate into the oppoſite ranks; ſtrength of body, addreſs, and alertneſs were every thing. They intermingled, and a battle conſiſted of a multitude of ſingle combats; in which there was leſs noiſe but more ſlaughter. The manner of fighting now is as different as that of fortifying and of attacking towns.

the count, ſince duke *de Lorges*, making him reſponſible for the execution of it; the count *de Lorges* obeyed with regret; for the ſucceſs of the day was deſpaired of at this time.

A very tumultuous council of war was held very near the king, and he was intreated in the name of the general, and in the name of all France, not to expoſe himſelf any longer.

The duke *de Richlieu*, lieutenant-general and aid-de-camp to the king, arrived at this inſtant. He had juſt been reconnoitring the column near Fontenoy. Having alſo rode up and down on all ſides, he preſented himſelf, out of breath, ſword in hand, and covered with duſt. What news

do

do you bring ſays the marſhal? what is your opinion? My news, replied the duke *de Richlieu*, is, *That victory is in our power*; and my opinion is, that we ſhould order four pieces of cannon, in an inſtant, to be pointed againſt the front of the column, and that, while the artillery makes it give way, the king's houſhold and the other troops ſhould ſurround it. *We muſt fall upon it like foragers.* The king was the firſt who approved this idea.

Twenty perſons were detached. The duke de Péquigni, called afterwards the duke *de Chaunes*, went to point the four pieces, which were placed directly oppoſite the Engliſh column. The duke of Richlieu rode full ſpeed, in the king's name, to order his houſ-

hold

hold to march; he gave this order to Monſ. *de Monteſſon* who commanded them. The prince of *Soubiſe* reaſſembled his Genſdarmes, the duke of *Chaunes* his light horſe; all theſe formed themſelves and marched; four ſquadrons of the Genſdarmes advanced on the right of the king's houſhold; the horſe grenadiers were at the head, under Monſ. *de Grille* their captain; the muſqueteers, commanded by Monſ. *de Jumillac*, quickly joined them.

In this important moment, count *d'Eu* and the duke of *Biron* at the right, ſaw with regret the troops of Antoine quit their poſt, according to the poſitive order of marſhal Saxe. I will be anſwerable for their diſobedience, ſaid the duke of Biron to them;

them; I am ſure the king will approve it, eſpecially in an inſtant when the face of affairs is going to change. I am poſitive that marſhal Saxe will think well of it. The marſhal arriving at the place, being informed of the king's reſolution and the willingneſs of the troops, readily yielded to the meaſure. He could change his opinion when it was needful; he made the regiment of Piedmont re-enter Antoine, and in ſpite of his weakneſs conveyed himſelf rapidly from the right to the left towards the Iriſh Brigades, recommending to all the troops as he paſſed them to make no more falſe fires, but to act in concert.

The duke of *Biron*, count *d'Eſtrée*, the marquis *de Croiſſy*, and count

count *de Lowendhal*, lieutenant-generals, directed theſe new attacks. Five ſquadrons of Penthiévre followed Monſ. *de Croiſſy* and his ſons. The regiments of *Chabrillant*, de *Brancas*, de *Brione*, *Aubeterre* and *Courten* haſted there, led on by their colonels. The regiment of *Normandy*, and the *Carbineers*, at laſt penetrated thro' the firſt ranks of the column, and revenged the death of their comrades ſlain in their firſt attack. The Iriſh ſeconded them. The column was attacked at once in the front and both flanks.

In ſeven or eight minutes this formidable corps was opened on all ſides; general *Poſonby*, brother to the earl of *Albemarle*, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious

prodigious number of officers were killed. The Engliſh rallied, but were obliged to retire; and they quitted the field of battle without tumult, without confuſion, and were conquered with honour.

The king of France went from regiment to regiment; the cries of victory and long live the king, the hats thrown up in the air, the ſtandard and colours pierced with balls, the reciprocal felicitations of the officers, who embraced each other, formed a ſcene of tumultuous joy, in which all were engaged. The king alone remained tranquil; teſtifying his ſatisfaction and making his acknowledgments to all the general officers, and to the commanders of every corps; ordered great care to be taken

taken of the wounded, and to treat his enemies as his own ſubjects.

Marſhal Saxe in the middle of this triumph, went to the king; he found ſtrength enough to embrace his knees, and to ſay, *Sire, I have lived long enough, I have not wiſhed to ſurvive this day, but to ſee your majeſty victorious. You ſee*, added he, *on what all battles depend.* The king lifted him up and embraced him tenderly.

To the duke of Richlieu, he ſaid I ſhall never forget the important ſervice that you have done me; he ſaid the ſame to the duke of Biron. Marſhal Saxe then addreſſed the king in theſe terms—" Sire, I muſt confeſs I reproach myſelf for one fault, I ſhould have placed another

redoubt between the wood of Barri and Fontenoy; but I could not believe that there were generals bold enough to attempt a paſſage at that place."

The allies loſt nine thouſand men, among which there were about two thouſand five hundred priſoners. They took ſcarcely any from the French.

By the exact account given to the major of the French infantry, they found only ſixteen hundred and twenty one ſoldiers or ſerjeants of the infantry killed; and three thouſand two hundred and eighty-two wounded. Among the officers only fifty three were found dead upon the field of battle; three hundred and twenty three were dangerouſly wounded.

The

The cavalry loſt about eighteen hundred men.

Since the commencement of war, never was ſo much care taken to alleviate the diſtreſs of this cruel ſcourge. Hoſpitals were prepared in all the neighbouring towns, but principally at *Liſle*; even the churches were employed to a uſe ſo worthy of them; not only to neceſſary aſſiſtance, but even conveniencies, none of which were wanting, either to the French or to their wounded priſoners. The zeal of the citizens went even too far; they conſtantly kept bringing to both parties nouriſhing food from all quarters, till the phyſicians of the hoſpital were obliged to put a check to this dangerous exceſs of

kindneſs. In a word the hoſpitals were ſo well ſerved, that almoſt all the officers choſe rather to be waited on there, than at private houſes, which had never been known before.

We have entered into the particulars of the battle of Fontenoy. Its importance, the danger of the king and dauphin required it. This action decided the fortune of the war, and laid the foundation of the conqueſt of the low countries, and ſerved as a ballance to all former unfortunate events. What farther renders this battle for ever memorable, is, that it was gained when the general, exhauſted and almoſt expiring, could act no longer. Marſhal

Saxe

Saxe made the diſpoſition, and the French officers carried the victory *.

CHAP.

* We are obliged to take notice, that in a hiſtory of this war, full as large as it is partial, publiſhed at London in four volumes, it is aſſerted, that the French took no care of their wounded priſoners; it is added, that the duke of Cumberland ſent to the king of France a cheſt full of *chewed balls* and bits of glaſs, which they found in the wounds of the Engliſh.

The authors of theſe puerile relations certainly think that theſe chewed bullets are a poiſon. It is an ancient prejudice, as weakly founded as that of the white powder. It is ſaid in this hiſtory that the French loſt nineteen thouſand men in the battle; that their king was not there; that he did not paſs the bridge of Calonne, but remained always behind the Eſcaut; in ſhort, it is ſaid, that the

CHAP. XVI.

Conſequences of the Battle of FONTENOY.

WHAT is as remarkable as this victory, is, that the firſt care of the king of France was to write the ſame

parliament of Paris iſſued out an arret, which, condemned to priſon, to baniſhment, and to the puniſhment of whipping, all who ſhould publiſh accounts of this battle. We know well enough, that ſuch extravagant impoſtures are not worthy of being refuted. But ſince there are to be found in England men ſufficiently deprived of good ſenſe, and knowledge to write ſuch ſingular abſurdities as this hiſtory abounds with, they may alſo find readers capable of believing them. It is juſt, therefore, that we prevent their credulity.

day

day to the *Abbe de la Ville*, his miniſter at the Hague, ſignifying that he deſired to reap no other fruit from his conqueſts but the pacification of Europe; and that he was ready to ſend his plenipotentiaries to a congreſs. The States General were ſurprized, and greatly ſuſpected the ſincerity of the king's offer; and what aſtoniſhed them more was, that this offer was eluded by the Engliſh and the queen of Hungary. This queen, who was at once engaged in a war in Sileſia againſt the king of Pruſſia, in Italy againſt the French, the Spaniards and Neopolitans, and on the *Maine* againſt the French to all appearance ought to have demanded a peace herſelf, which her circumſtances almoſt o-

bliged her to; but the Engliſh court, which governed all, would not conſent to it. Vengeance and prejudices influence courts as well as private people.

In the mean time the king ſent M. de la Tour, an aid-major of the army and a very intelligent officer, to carry the news of the victory to the king of Pruſſia, who met the king at the bottom of Lower Sileſia, on the ſide of Ratiſbon in the defile of a mountain, near a village called *Friedbourg*. There he ſaw this monarch obtain a ſignal victory over the Auſtrians. The Pruſſian monarch ſent the following notice of it to his ally the king of France, " The bill of exchange

" which

" which you drew upon me at *Fonte-*
" *noy*, I have paid at *Friedbourg*."

The king of France on his ſide had all the advantages the victory of Fontenoy could give. The town and citadel of Tournay ſurrendered in a few days after the battle. Marſhal Saxe had ſecretly concerted with the king the taking of Ghent, the capital of Auſtrian Flanders, a town but thinly inhabited, though rich and flouriſhing from the remains of its ancient ſplendor.

The operations which did the greateſt honour to the marquis de Louvois in one of the campaigns of the war of 1689 was the ſiege of Ghent. He had determined upon this ſiege, becauſe it was the enemies magazine. *Lewis* XV. had juſt the ſame

ſame reaſon to make himſelf maſter of it. According to cuſtom every motion which could deceive the enemies army, now retired towards *Bruſſels*, was made; ſuch meaſures were taken alſo, that the marquis *du Chaila* on one ſide, and the count *de Lowendahl* on the other, might appear before Ghent at one and the ſame hour. The garriſon conſiſted only at that time of ſix hundred men; the inhabitants were enemies to the French, though at all times they were greatly diſſatisfied under the Auſtrian government; but very different in point of bravery from what they were when they compoſed an army of themſelves.

Theſe two ſecret marches were made under the General's direction,

but were on the point of miſcarrying, by one of thoſe events ſo common in war.

The Engliſh, although conquered at Fontenoy, were neither diſperſed nor diſcouraged. They ſaw from the environs of *Bruſſels*, where they were poſted, the evident danger with which Ghent was threatened; in fine, they ordered a body of ſix thouſand men to march to the defence of this city. This corps advanced towards Ghent, upon the dyke of Aloſt, preciſely at the time that Monſ. *du Chaila* was only at a league diſtance, upon the ſame dyke, marching with three brigades of cavalry, and two of infantry, compoſed of the regiments of *Normandy*, *Crillon*, and *Laval*, twenty pieces of cannon,

cannon, and a number of boats. The artillery was already in the front, guarded by fifty men, and behind was Monſ. *Graſſin*, with a party of light troops. It was night and every thing quiet when ſix thouſand Engliſh arrived and attacked the *Graſſins*; they had juſt time to ſhelter themſelves in a farm-houſe, near the abby of *Mile*, from whence this battle has taken its name. The Engliſh being informed that the French were upon the dyke, at a diſtance from their artillery, which was guarded only by fifty men, they marched and took it. The marquis *de Crillon*, who was already advanced within three hundred ſpaces of them, ſaw the Engliſh become maſters of the cannon, which they turned

turned againſt him, and were going to diſcharge; he very calmly formed his determination in an inſtant, and loſt not a moment to execute it: he puſhed on with his regiment towards the enemies on one ſide, while the young marquis of *Laval* advancing with another battalion; they retook the cannon and then halted. During the time that the marquis *de Crillon* and de Laval thus checked the Engliſh, a ſingle company of Normandy, which were near the abby, defended themſelves againſt them.

Two battalions of Normandy arrived in haſte. The young count of *Perigord* commanded them: he was ſon to the marquis of *Faillerand*, of a houſe which had been ſovereign, unfortunately ſlain before Tournay, and

and had juſt obtained, at ſeventeen years of age, this Norman regiment, which his father had commanded before him; he advanced the firſt, at the head of a company of grenadiers. The Engliſh battalion attacked by him, threw down their arms.

Meſſ. *du Chaila* and *de Souvré* appeared very ſoon after upon the dyke with the cavalry. The Engliſh were ſtopped on all ſides, and ſtill defended themſelves. The marquis de Graville was wounded; but at length they were entirely routed.

M. *d'Azincourt*, a Norman captain, with only forty men, made the lieutenant-colonel of Rich's regiment priſoner, with eight captains, and two hundred and eighty ſoldiers,

who

who threw down their arms, and ſurrendered. Nothing was equal to their ſurprize when they ſaw that they ſurrendered to forty Frenchmen only. M. *d'Azincourt* conducted his priſoners M. *de Graville*, holding the point of his ſword to the Engliſh lieutenant-colonel's breaſt, and threatening to kill him if his ſoldiers made the leaſt reſiſtance.

Another Norman captain, M. *de Montalambert*, with fifty of his ſoldiers, took an hundred and fifty Engliſh; three ſquadrons of cavalry were put to flight near the end of the action, by a number nearly equal to the former, commanded by M. *de Saint Sauveur*, captain of the king's regiment of cavalry; in ſhort the ſtrange ſucceſs of this battle perhaps did the greateſt

greateſt honour to the French of any in all this campaign, and ſtruck the enemies with the greateſt conſternation. What ſtill characteriſes this day, is, that this battle, as well as that of Fontenoy, was gained by the preſence of mind, and courage of the French officers.

They arrrived before Ghent juſt at the time fixed by marſhal *Saxe*; they entered the town ſword in hand without plundering it, and the garriſon of the citadel were taken priſoners.

One of the extraordinary advantages reaped from the poſſeſſion of this town, was the gaining of an immenſe magazine of ammunition, proviſions, forage, arms, and clothes, which the allies had depoſited in Ghent;

Ghent; this was a ſmall indemnification for the expences of the war, which had been before as unfortunate as it was now glorious, under the eye of the king.

At the ſame time that the citadel of *Ghent* was taken, *Oudenarde* was alſo inveſted; and the marquis *de Souvré* made himſelf maſter of *Bruges* the ſame day that M. *de Lowendhal* opened the trenches before Oudenarde, which ſurrendered after three days.

Scarcely was the king of France maſter of one town than he cauſed two to be beſieged. The duke *d'Harcourt* took *Dendermonde*, two days after opening the trenches, notwithſtanding the ſluices made a general inundation; at the ſame time

count de Lowendhal laid ſiege to Oſtend.

This ſiege was reckoned the moſt difficult. It was remembered that Oſtend ſuſtained a ſiege of three years and three months, at the beginning of the laſt century. By a compariſon of the plan of the fortifications of this place, with thoſe exiſting when it was taken by *Spinola*, it appeared that Spinola ought to have taken it in fifteen days, and M. *de Lowendhal* to have been before it three years, the fortifications were now ſo much ſuperior. M. *de Chanclos*, lieutenant-general of the Auſtrian army, defended it with a garriſon of four thouſand men, one half of which were Engliſh; but the terror and diſmay was ſo great at the ſignal ſucceſſes of the

the French, that the governor capitulated, as ſoon as the marquis *de Herouville*, a man worthy of being at the head of engineers, and equally uſeful as a good citizen and an officer, had taken the covered way, called the Cat-guard, on the ſide of the Downs.

An Engliſh fleet which brought ſuccours to the town, and cannonaded the beſiegers, came there only to be witneſſes of its being taken. This loſs threw the Engliſh court and the United Provinces into great conſternation.

Nieuport was the only place remaining to complete the conqueſt of all the province Flanders, and the king ordered it to be beſieged.

In this ſituation of affairs the Engliſh miniſtry began to reflect that the French had the ſuperiority of priſoners. The detaining of marſhal *Belliſle* and his brother, had totally ſuſpended the cartel. Theſe two generals had been taken priſoners in violation of the law of nations, and they ſet them at liberty without ranſom. In effect they could have no pretence to demand any, after having declared them ſtate priſoners; and it was was the intereſt of England to get the cartel reſtored.

In the mean time the king departed for Paris, where he arrived the 7th of September 1745. No addition could be made to the reception that had been given him

the

preceding year. The ſame feſtivals and rejoicings took place; but they had beſides to celebrate the victories of Fontenoy and of Mêle, and the conqueſt of the province of Flanders.

CHAP. XVII.

Affairs of GERMANY, FRANCIS *of* LORRAIN, *Grand Duke of* TUSCANY, *elected Emperor. The Armies of* AUSTRIA *and* SAXONY *beaten by* FREDERIC *the Third, King of* PRUSSIA. *The taking of* DRESDEN.

THE ſucceſs of Lewis XV. increaſed daily in the low countries; the ſuperiority of his armies, the facility of the ſervice in every reſpect, the diſperſion and diſcouragement of the allies, their diſunion, and above all the capacity of marſhal Saxe, who, having recovered his health, acted with more activity than ever;

all

all theſe circumſtances combined, formed a chain of uninterrupted ſucceſs, which has no example, except the conqueſts of *Lewis the XIVth.* Every thing was favourable alſo in *Italy* for don *Philip.* An aſtoniſhing revolution in England already endangered the throne of *George the Second*, as will be ſeen hereafter; but the queen of Hungary enjoyed another glory and another advantage, which coſt no blood, and accompliſhed her chief and moſt deſirable object. She never loſt the hopes of placing the imperial crown upon the head of her huſband, even in the life-time of *Charles* VII. and after the death of this emperor, ſhe believed herſelf ſure of it, notwithſtanding the king of Pruſſia was at war with her; that the elector Pa-

latine refuſed his conſent; and a French army, which lay near *Francfort*, might obſtruct the election. This was the army commanded at firſt by marſhal *Mallebois*, and which ſince the beginning of May, 1745, had been under the orders of the prince *de Conti*; but twenty thouſand men had been drawn from it to increaſe the army at Fontenoy. The prince could not prevent the junction of all the troops, which the queen of Hungary had in this part of Germany, and which came and covered Frankfort, where the election was made as quietly as if in time of peace.

Thus France failed in the great object of the war, which was to deprive the houſe of Auſtria of the Imperial

Imperial Throne. The election was made September 13, 1745. The king of Pruſſia, by his ambaſſadors, declared the election to be void. The elector Palatine, whoſe countries had been ravaged by the Auſtrian armies, entered a proteſt to the ſame purpoſe. The electoral ambaſſadors of theſe two princes retired from Frankfort; but this made no alteration in the form of the election; becauſe it is ſaid in the golden bull, *That if the electors, or their ambaſſadors retire from the place of election before the king of the Romans, the future emperor is elected, they ſhall be deprived of their right of ſuffrage for that time, as being judged to have abandoned it.*

The queen of Hungary, now empreſs, came to Frankfort to enjoy her

her triumph, the coronation of her huſband. She ſaw from a *balcony* the ceremony of the entry, and was the firſt that cried, *Long live the emperor*, and all the people anſwered with acclamations of joy and affection. This was the happieſt day of her life; afterwards ſhe went to ſee her army, ranged in order of battle near *Heidelberg*, to the number of ſixty thouſand men. The emperor, her ſpouſe, received her, ſword in hand, at the head of the army. She paſſed between the lines, ſaluted every body, dined under a tent, and ordered a florin to be diſtributed to every ſoldier.

It was the fate of this princeſs, and of the affairs that diſturbed her reign, that the moſt lucky events

were

were ballanced on all ſides by equal diſgraces. The emperor Charles VII. loſt Bavaria, at the time they were crowning him emperor, and the queen of Hungary loſt a battle while ſhe was preparing the coronation of her huſband, Francis I. The king of Pruſſia was again victor at *Soré*, near the ſource of the Elbe.

There are times when a nation conſtantly preſerves its ſuperiority; this has been evinced in the Swedes under Charles XII. in the Engliſh under the duke of Marlborough; in the French in Flanders under Lewis XV. and marſhal Saxe; and in the Pruſſians under Frederic the Third. The empreſs loſt Flanders, and had much to fear from the king of Pruſſia in Germany, at the time that

that ſhe ſeated her huſband in the throne of her father.

At this very time when the king of France, conqueror in Italy, and the low countries, was conſtantly propoſing peace, the king of Pruſſia, victorious on his ſide, demanded alſo the mediation of *Elizabeth*, empreſs of Ruſſia.—Conquerors were never yet ſeen to make ſo many overtures, and it was very aſtoniſhing; but at preſent it is dangerous to be too victorious. All the powers of Europe, ſooner or later, will take arms when there is one in motion; their thoughts were employed upon leagues and counter-leagues, ſupported by numerous armies. Much is required by temporary conjunctures to keep an acquired province.

In

In the midſt of theſe great difficulties an unprecedented offer of a mediation was received, which could not be expected; this was from the Grand Turk. His prime miniſter wrote to all the chriſtian courts which were at war, and exhorted them to ceaſe that effuſion of human blood, and offered them the mediation of his maſter. Such an offer had no conſequences. But at leaſt it ought to ſerve to make ſo many chriſtian powers recollect themſelves, who had begun the war through intereſt, continued it through obſtinacy, and would finiſh it only through neceſſity. Beſides, this mediation of the ſultan of the Turks, was offered in return for the peace that the king of France had accompliſhed between the em-

peror

peror of Germany, Charles VI. and the Ottoman Porte, in 1739.

The king of Pruſſia took other meaſures to eſtabliſh an union, and to keep Sileſia. His troops completely beat the Auſtrians and Saxons at the gates of Dreſden. It was the famous old prince of *Anhalt* who gained this deciſive victory; he had been a warrior fifty years, and was the firſt that entered into the lines of the French army at Turin in 1707. For conducting the infantry, he was eſteemed the moſt experienced officer in Europe. This great battle was the laſt that filled up the meaſure of his military glory, the only glory which he had taſted, for fighting was his only province.

The

The king of Pruſſia, dextrous in more reſpect than one, ſhut up the town of *Dreſden* on all ſides. He entered it followed by ten battalions and ten ſquadrons, diſarmed three regiment of the militia which compoſed the garriſon; went to the palace where he viſited the two princes and the three princeſſes, the children of the king of Poland, who reſided in it; he embraced them, and ſhewed them all the marks of tenderneſs and regard which might be expected from the moſt polite man of his age.

He ordered the ſhops and warehouſes which had been ſhut up to be opened; gave a dinner to all the foreign miniſters; had an Italian opera played; in fine, it was ſcarcely perceptible that the town was in the

the power of the conqueror, and the ſurrender of Dreſden was ſignalized only by the entertainments this monarch gave there.

But what was ſtill more ſurpriſing, he entered Dreſden only on the 18th of December, 1746, and made a peace there with Auſtria and Saxony on the 25th of the ſame month, leaving all the weight of the war upon the king of France.

Maria Thereſa in this ſecond peace renounced with reluctance her pretenſions to Sileſia; and Frederic gave her no other advantage than the acknowledgment of Francis the Firſt, for Emperor. The elector Palatine, as a contracting party in the treaty, acknowledged the ſame; and it coſt only the king of Poland, elector of

Saxony, one million of crowns, German money, that he was to give to the conqueror, with intereſt to the day of payment.

The king of Pruſſia returned to Berlin to enjoy peace, the fruit of his victory; he was received under triumphant arches, the people ſtrewing branches of fir-trees before him, inſtead of better, and crying, Long live Frederic the Great. This prince, ſucceſsful both in his wars and in his treaties, now applied himſelf ſolely to perfecting the laws and the encouragement of arts in his dominions. He paſſed all of a ſudden from the tumults of war, to a philoſophical retirement; he cloſely applied himſelf to poetry, to eloquence and hiſtory; an attention to theſe

ſtudies form a part of his character: in this reſpect he is more famous than Charles XII. He never conſidered Charles as a great man, becauſe he was only an hero. We have not entered here into any detail of the victories of the king of Pruſſia; he has written them himſelf; "Cæſar "alone could write his own com-"mentaries."

The king of France, deprived a ſecond time of this important ſuccour, ſtill continued his conqueſts. The object of the war, now on the part of France, was to force the queen of Hungary, by her loſſes in Flanders, to cede what ſhe diſputed in Italy, and to oblige the States General to return again to that neutrality they had departed from.

The

The queen of Hungary wanted to make retaliation upon France for the loſs ſhe had ſuſtained by the victories of the king of Pruſſia; this project known afterwards by the court of England to be impracticable, was then approved of, and embraced accordingly; for there are ſeaſons when all the world are blind. The empire given to Francis the firſt encouraged them to think that the circles would determine to take up arms againſt France, and the court of Vienna ſpared no pains to engage them to this ſtep.

The empire conſtantly remained neuter, as all Italy had done at the beginning of this chaos of war; but the hearts of the Germans were with *Maria Thereſa*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Continuation of the Conqueſt of the AUSTRIAN LOW-COUNTRIES. *Battle of* LEIGE.

THE king of France, having departed for Paris after the taking of Oſtend, was informed upon the road that Nieuport had ſurrendered, and that the garriſon were made priſoners of war. Juſt after the count *de Clermont* . *Gallerande* had taken the town of *Aeth*. Marſhal Saxe inveſted Bruſſels in the beginning of the winter. This city, it is well known, is the capital of *Brabant*, and the reſidence of the governors of the Low Auſtrian Countries.

Countries. The count *de Caunitz*, then prime miniſter, acted in the room of prince Charles, governor-general of the Low Countries. The count *de Lanoy*, lieutenant-general of the queen's armies, was governor of the garriſon. General *Vanderduin*, on the part of the Dutch, commanded eighteen battalions and ſeven ſquadrons of their forces; there were no Auſtrian troops, except one hundred and fifty dragoons and as many huſſars. The empreſs queen confided in the Engliſh and Dutch, for the defence of theſe countries; and they always bore the burden of the war in Flanders. Field-marſhal *Los Rios*, the two princes of *Lignes*, the one a general of infantry and the other of cavalry; general Chanclos, who had ſurren-

dered Oſtend; five Auſtrian lieutenant-generals, with a croud of nobility, were found in this town beſieged, where, in reality, the queen of Hungary had in effect a great many more officers than ſoldiers.

The ſhattered remains of the enemy's army were retired towards Mechlin, under the prince of Waldeck, and could not oppoſe the ſiege; Marſhal Saxe having ſuddenly ordered his army to march in four columns, by four different roads. In this ſiege no perſon of diſtinction was loſt, except the chevalier *d'Aubeterre*, colonel of the regiment de Vaiſſeaux. The garriſon, with all the general officers, were made priſoners. Count de Caunitz, the prime miniſter, could not be taken, yet they had a greater right

right to ſeize him, than the Hanoverians had to ſeize marſhal Belliſle. The reſident of the States General alſo was in their power, but they not only left them both at full liberty, but took particular care of their effects and attendants, and furniſhed them with eſcorts; and ſent to prince Charles, his equipages and domeſticks which were in the town, and alſo depoſited in the magazines all the arms of the military in readineſs for an exchange.

The king, who had ſo many advantages over the Hollanders, and above thirty thouſand of their troops priſoners of war, in a manner governed this republic. The States General found themſelves in a perplexed ſituation; the ſtorm was approaching them, and they were ſen-

ſible of their weakneſs. The magiſtracy were deſirous of peace, but the Engliſh party, who had already taken every poſſible meaſure that could place a Stadholder at the head of this republic, being ſeconded by the people, inſiſted upon a continuation of the war. The ſtates, thus divided, acted without principle, and their conduct announced their misfortunes.

The ſpirit of confuſion and diviſion redoubled in the United Provinces, when they were informed, at the opening of the campaign, that the king marched in perſon towards *Antwerp*, at the head of one hundred and twenty battalions, and one hundred and ninety ſquadrons. Formerly when the republic of Holland eſtabliſhed

bliſhed itſelf by force of arms, ſhe deſtroyed all the grandeur of *Antwerp*, which was then the greateſt commercial city of all Europe, prohibited the navigation of the *Eſcaut*, and afterwards aggravated its fallen ſtate, eſpecially ſince the alliance of the States with the houſe of Auſtria. Neither the emperor *Leopald*, *Charles* VI. nor the empreſs queen, his daughter, ever had any other veſſel upon the Eſcaut than one cuſtom-houſe bark to collect the duties of import and export. But notwithſtanding the States General had humbled Antwerp to this degree, and ruined its merchants, yet the Hollanders regarded it as a rampart to their country, this rampart was ſoon broken.

The

The prince of Conti had under his command a ſeparate body of the army, with which he inveſted *Mons*, the capital of Auſtrian *Hainault*; twelve battalions which defended it, ſerving to increaſe the number of priſoners of war, half of them being Dutch. The Auſtrians never loſt ſo many places, nor the Dutch ſo many ſoldiers as in this war. St *Guillan* ſhared the ſame fate, and that of *Charleroy* followed; the lower town was taken by aſſault the trenches being opened only two days. The marquis, afterwards *marſhal* de la *Fare*, took poſſeſſion of of Charleroy upon the ſame conditions as the other towns that had made any reſiſtance, that is, the garriſon were made priſoners. The

grand

grand project was to go to Maeſticht, from whence they could eaſily command the United Provinces; but, to leave nothing behind in Flanders, it was neceſſary to lay ſiege to the important town of *Namur*. Prince Charles, who, at that time commanded the army, made every poſſible effort to prevent the ſiege, but in vain.

Namur is ſituated on the conflux of the *Sambre*, and the *Meuſe*; the citadel is built upon a ſteep rock; and twelve other forts upon the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, ſeem to render it inacceſſible to any attack: it is one of the barrier-towns. The prince *de Gavres* was governor for the empreſs queen; but the Dutch, who were in garriſon, neither paid him obedience nor reſpect. The environs of this

town

town are celebrated by the marches, and encampments of marſhal de Luxembourg, marſhal de Boufflers, and king William; and are alſo not leſs famous for the manœuvres of marſhal Saxe. He forced prince Charles to depart the town, and leave him at liberty to beſiege it.

The prince de Clermont had the charge of the ſiege of Namur, which was, in effect, to take twelve places; he, therefore, ordered ſeveral of the forts to be attacked at once. Monſ. Brulart, aid-major-general, placed the priſoners behind the grenadiers in a work which they had taken, and promiſed them double pay if they would execute their work with diligence, which they did with more ſpeed than was expected, and refuſed any advanced pay.

I cannot enter into a minute account of the remarkable actions which paſſed at this, and all the other ſieges. There are few events of War wherein the officers and ſoldiers do not perform ſuch ſurpriſing acts of valour, as even aſtoniſh thoſe who are witneſſes of them, and which afterwards are buried for ever in oblivion. If a general, a prince, or a monarch had performed one of theſe actions, they would have been conſecrated to poſterity; but their multitude ſoon renders them forgotten; and in all kinds of tranſactions the principal only remain in the memory of mankind. However, fort Ballard, taken in the open day by three officers only, muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. Mr. *de Launai*, aid-major, Mr. *d'Aumere*, captain in the regiment of

of Champagne, and Mr. *de Clamouze*, a young Portugueſe of the ſame regiment, who leaping ſingly into the trenches, made the garriſon lay down their arms.

The trenches were opened near Namur on the 10th of September, and the town capitulated on the 19th. By the article of capitulation, the garriſon, conſiſting of twelve battalions, ten of which were Dutch, were obliged to retire into the citadel, and ſome other caſtles; and, at the end of eleven days, freſh articles were drawn, in which they were all made priſoners of war.

After the taking of Namur, it remained either to diſperſe or beat the allied army, which was encamped, at that time, on this ſide the *Meuſe*, having *Maeſtricht* at the right, and *Liege* on the left.

left. The two armies obſerved each other's motions, and had many ſkirmiſhes for ſeveral days; the *Jar* dividing them.

Marſhal Saxe, intending to come to an engagement, marched towards the enemy on the 11th of October at the break of day, in ten columns. The two armies were ſeen from the ſuburbs of Liege, as from an amphitheatre; the French were an hundred and twenty thouſand ſtrong, and the allies only eighty thouſand. The enemy extended along the Meuſe, from Liege to Viſet, behind five fortified villages. The preſent method of attacking an army is the ſame as that of a town, battering it with cannon.

The allies had to fear, that after being driven from theſe villages, they could

could not paſs the river: thus they riſqued their total deſtruction, which was what marſhal Saxe wiſhed for. The only general officer that the French loſt in this engagement was the marquis *de Fenelon*, nephew to the immortal archbiſhop of Cambray. He was brought up under the care of his uncle, and poſſeſſed all his virtues; though in a character quite different. Twenty years embaſſy to Holland, did not extinguiſh a military ardour, and a thirſt for glory, which coſt him his life. Having been wounded in the foot forty years before, and ſcarce able to walk, he ruſhed upon the intrenchments of the enemy on horſeback: he ſought death, and he found it. His extraordinary piety augmented his intrepidity; he thought that the moſt

pleaſing

pleaſing action in the ſight of God, was to die for his ſovereign: it muſt be acknowledged, that an army compoſed of men, who ſhould embrace this opinion, would be invincible. The French had but few perſons of diſtinction wounded in this battle. The ſon of Count *de Segur*, received a ball in his breaſt, which was immediately extracted from the ſpinal bone; and he ſurvived, by an operation more ſevere than the wound itſelf. The marquis *de Lujac*, had his jaw-bone broken, his tongue cut, and both his cheeks pierced by a muſket-ſhot. The marquis *de Laval*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Mele; the prince of Monaco, the marquis *de Vaubecour*, and the count *de Charleroy*, were likewiſe dangerouſly wounded.

This battle was only blood ſpilt in vain, and one calamity more for both parties: neither gained nor loſt ground, and each took their former quarters. The beaten army advanced even cloſe to Tongres; the victorious one paſſed by way of Louvain into the midſt of their conqueſts, and retired to enjoy the ſweets of a repoſe, which the ſeaſon commonly requires in theſe countries, to wait the return of the ſpring, in order to renew thoſe cruelties and misfortunes which the winter only ſuſpended.

CHAP. XIX.

Succeſs of the Infant Don PHILIP, *and* Marſhal MAILLEBOIS, *followed by great Diſaſters.*

IN Italy, and towards the Alps, the face of affairs was very different, and an extraordinary ſcene paſſed there at this time.—The moſt ſorrowful reverſe of fortune had ſucceeded to the moſt rapid ſucceſs. The houſe of France loſt more in Italy than they had gained in Flanders; and theſe loſſes ſeemed to be more irreparable than their ſucceſs in Flanders appeared uſeful; becauſe the eſtabliſhment of don Philip was then the true object of the

war. If they were conquered in Italy, they had no reſource left for this eſtabliſhment; and it was in vain to have conquered in Flanders, for they were ſenſible that, ſooner or later, they muſt give up their conqueſts, and that they were only as a pledge, or a tranſient ſurety to indemnify them for the loſſes which they might ſuſtain elſewhere. The circles of Germany remained neuter, and every thing was in tranquility upon the borders of the Rhine: in effect, Spain was become the principal party in the war. By ſea and by land the war was carried on ſolely for them, and they never loſt ſight of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and the *Milaneſe*. Of ſo many dominions diſputed with the heireſs of the houſe of Auſtria, there remained only theſe provinces,

of

of Italy, to which any claims could be laid.

Since the foundation of the monarchy, this war was the only one, in which France was barely an auxiliary: ſhe was no more in the cauſe of the emperor Charles VII. to the time of his death; and in that of the Infant, till the peace.

At the beginning of the campaign of 1745 in Italy, appearances were as favourable for France, as they were for Auſtria in 1741. The roads were open to the French and Spaniſh armies, by the way of Genoa. This republic, forced by the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, to declare war againſt them, had at laſt made a definitive treaty with France and Spain: they were to furniſh about

eighteen thouſand men. The Spaniards gave them thirty thouſand piaſters a month, and 100,000 at one payment for the uſe of the artillery, with which they furniſhed the Spaniſh army; for in this long and variegated war, the wealthy and powerful ſtates always kept the others in pay. Don Philip's army, which deſcended with the French from the Alps, joined to the Genoeſe troops, was reputed to conſiſt of 60,000. men. That of count *de Gages*, who had purſued the Germans to the environs of Rome, advanced, and with the Neapolitan army was about 30,000 ſtrong. This was juſt at the time that the king of Pruſſia, operating on the ſide of Saxony, and the prince of *Conti* on the Rhine,

prevented

prevented the Auſtrian forces from ſuccouring Italy. The Genoeſe even had the boldneſs to declare war, in form, againſt the king of Sardinia. The deſign was, that the Spaniſh and Neapolitan amy ſhould join the French and Spaniſh forces in the Milaneſe.

About the month of March, 1745, the duke of *Modena* and count *de Gages*, at the head of the Spaniſh and Neopolitan army, had purſued the Auſtrians from the environs of Rome to Rimini, from Rimini to Ceſene, from Ceſene to *Imola*, from *Imola* to *Forli* from *Forli*, to *Bologna*, and at laſt quite to *Modena*.

Marſhal Maillebois, a pupil of the celebrated *Villars*, appointed captain-general of don Philip's army, arrived ſoon after, by the way of *Vintimiglia*, and *Oneglia*, and came down towards

Montferrat, about the end of June at the head of the Spaniards and French.

From the ſmall principality of Oneglia, there is a deſcent into the marquiſate of Final, which is at the extremity of the territory of Genoa, and is the entrance into Mantuan-Montferrat, a country hedged in with rocks, which are a continuation of the Alps. After having marched through valleys between theſe rocks, the fertile country of Alexandria preſents itſelf; and the direct road to Milan, is from Alexandria to *Tortona*: ſome miles farther is the paſſage of the *Po*; next *Pavia* appears upon the *Teſino*; and from *Pavia* it is but a day's journey to the famous city of Milan, which is not fortifyed, and always ſends the keys to whom-

whomſoever paſſes the *Teſino*; but which has a very ſtrong caſtle, capable of making a vigorous and long reſiſtance.

To ſeize on this country it is only neceſſary to make forced marches. To keep a ſharp look out is expedient to the right and left, over a vaſt extent of country; alſo to be maſter of the courſe of the Po, from *Caſal* to Cremona, and to guard the Oglio, a river which falls from the Alps of the *Tirol*, or at leaſt to be in poſſeſſion of *Lodi*, *Crema*, and *Pizzighitona*, in order to block up the road againſt the Germans, who may arrive from *Trentin* this way. In fine, a free communication muſt be had behind theſe places with the river of Genoa, that is to ſay, with the ſtraight road which runs

runs by the ſide of the ſea from Antibes by Monaco, and Vintimiglia, in order to have a ſure retreat in caſe of misfortune. All the poſts of this country are known and diſtinguiſhed by as many battles as the territory of Flanders.

At the end of the year 1745, the French and Spaniards were maſters of Monferrat, of Alexandria, of the Tortoneſe, of the country behind Genoa, that is called the Imperial Fiefs of the *Lomélline*, of the *Paveſan*, of the *Lodéſan*, of Milan, of almoſt all the Milaneſe, and of Parma and Placentia. All theſe ſucceſſes followed rapidly, like thoſe of the king of France in the Low Countries, and of prince Edward in Scotland, while the king of Pruſſia, on his part, beat the Auſtrian troops in Lower

Lower Germany. But in Italy, preciſely, the ſame thing happened as in Bohemia at the beginning of this war. The moſt favourable appearances covered the greateſt calamities.

The intentions of the king of Pruſſia in making war, were to annoy the houſe of Auſtria as much as poſſible; in making peace, to do as much miſchief to that of France: the peace of Breſlau loſt her Bohemia, and that of Dreſden, Italy.

Scarce was the empreſs queen, a ſecond time, rid of this enemy, than ſhe ſent freſh troops into Italy, by the *Tirol* and the *Trentin*, during the winter 1746. The infant don Philip was in poſſeſſion of Milan; but not the caſtle. His mother, the queen of Spain, ordered him poſitively to attack it. Marſhal

ſhal Mallebois wrote this in the month of December 1745: *I foreſee a total deſtruction if we obſtinately remain in the Milaneſe.* The Spaniſh council perſiſted in it, and all was loſt.

The troops of the empreſs-queen on one ſide, and the Piedmonteſe on the other, gained ground every where. The ſurrender of places and redoubled loſſes greatly diminiſhed the combined armies of France and Spain; and, at laſt, the fatal battle of Placentia, reduced it to leave Italy with regret, and in a deplorable condition.

The prince of Lichtenſtein commanded the army of the empreſs queen: he was yet in the flower of his age. In his early youth, he was ſent ambaſſador from the father of this empreſs, to the court of France, where he

he acquired univerſal eſteem: he merited ſtill more, by his conduct and courage, at the battle of Plaiſance; for finding himſelf in the ſame ſtate of ſickneſs and langour, which marſhal Saxe laboured under at Fontenoy, he ſurmounted, like him, the exceſs of his diſorder, to fly to the battle, and he gained as complete a victory. This battle was the longeſt and moſt bloody of all the war. Marſhal Maillebois began the attack three hours before day, and remained conqueror a long time at the right wing, which he commanded; but the left wing of the army being ſurrounded by a ſuperior number of Auſtrians, and general *Arembourre* wounded, and taken priſoner; it was entirely defeated, and after nine hours combat, the marſhal

was

was obliged to retire under Plancentia.

If the antient method of cloſe fighting were in practice, a ſcuffle of nine hours, battalion againſt battalion, ſquadron againſt ſquadron, and man to man, would deſtroy whole armies, Europe would be depopulated by the prodigious number of battles that have been fought in our days; but in theſe battles, as I have already remarked, they ſeldom cloſe. Muſkets and cannon are leſs deſtructive than the pike or the ſword were formerly. They are a long time even without firing, and in the encloſed country of Italy, where they fire through hedges, a great deal of time is loſt in ſeiſing a trifling poſt, in pointing the cannon, in forming and reforming: thus nine hours of battle

battle are not ſo many hours of continual deſtruction.

The loſs of the Spaniards, of the French, and ſome Neapolitan regiments amounted, however, to upwards of eight thouſand men, killed and wounded. At laſt, the army of the king of Sardinia arrived, and then the danger was doubled; for the whole army of the three powers of France, Spain, and Naples ran the riſque of being made priſoners.

At this unfortunate juncture, the infant don Philip received a piece of news, which, according to all appearances, was to fill up the meaſure of this misfortunes: this was the death of his father *Philip* V. king of Spain. This monarch, after having undergone many reverſes of fortune, and, in his youth,

youth, been twice obliged to abandon his capital, at laſt reigned peaceably in Spain; and, if he did not revive the ſplendor this monarchy enjoyed, in the time of Philip II. he, at leaſt, put it in a more flouriſhing ſtate than it was in under Philip IV. and Charles II. He had only to put up with the hard neceſſity of always ſeeing Gibraltar, Minorca, and the commerce of the Spaniſh empire in America, in the hands of the Engliſh, which had diſturbed the happineſs of his adminiſtration. The conqueſt of Oran, from the Moors in 1732; the crown of Naples and Sicily, taken from the Auſtrians, and placed upon the head of his ſon don Carlos, ſignalized his reign; and ſometime before his death, he flattered himſelf with ſeeing the Milaneſe, Parma,

Parma, and Placentia, ſubmit to the infant don Philip, his other ſon by his ſecond marriage with the princeſs of Parma.

Precipitated, like other princes, into thoſe great deſigns, which put almoſt all Europe in motion; he experienced more than any one, the vanity of grandeur, and the grievous neceſſity of ſacrificing ſo many thouſands of men to intereſts which change every day. Diſguſted with ſovereignty, he had abdicated the throne in favour of his eldeſt ſon don Louis, and accepted it again after the death of that prince; always ready to quit it, he teſtified, by his melancholy diſpoſition, the bitterneſs that is attached to human nature, even in the midſt of arbitrary power.

The news of the king's death arriving at the army after the defeat, augmented the embarraſſment, into which they were already thrown. They were yet uncertain if *Ferdinand* VI. ſucceſſor of Philip V. would do as much for his brother-in-law, as Philip had done for his ſon. The remaining part of this flouriſhing army of the triple alliance, were in greater danger than ever of being ſhut up, without any reſource; they were between the *Po*, the *Lambro*, the *Tidona*, and the *Trebia*. To fight in a country, or in a poſt againſt a ſuperior army, is very common; but to ſave conquered and ſurrounded troops very rare, and can be effected only by a thorough ſkill in the military art.

The count *de Maillebois*, ſon of the marſhal, was ſo hardy as to propoſe a fighting

ſkirmiſhing retreat. He undertook this enterprize, conducted it under the eyes of his father, and accompliſhed it. The three armies paſſed ſafely in a day and night over three bridges, with three thouſand mules laden, and a thouſand proviſion-waggons, forming themſelves along the Tidona. Meaſures were ſo well taken, that neither the Sardinians nor Auſtrians could attack them 'till they were in a ſtate of defence. The French and Spaniſh armies ſupported a long and obſtinate engagement, in which they were not once put in diſorder.

This day, more eſteemed by the judges of the military ſcience, than admired by the vulgar, was reckoned a happy one, becauſe the object propoſed was accompliſhed: it was, how-

ever, extremely diſagreeable to retreat by *Tortona*, and to leave *Placentia*, and the whole country, in the power of the enemy. In effect, the day after this extraordinary battle, Placentia ſurrendered, and upwards of three thouſand ſick were made priſoners of war.

Of all this grand army, which was to ſubdue Italy, ſix thouſand effective men only were left at *Tortona*. The ſame misfortune happened in the time of Louis XIV. after the battle of *Turin*. Francis I. Louis XII. and Charles VIII. underwent the ſame diſgraces.—Very uſeful leſſons, though never attended to!

They retired immediately to *Gavi*, towards the confines of the Genoeſe. The Infant, and the duke of Modena, went to Genoa; but far from being ſecure there,

there, it only augmented their fears, to find it blocked up by an Engliſh fleet: and they had no proviſion to ſupport the few cavalry that ſtill remained. Forty thouſand Auſtrians, and twenty thouſand Piedmonteſe approached it; if they had remained in Genoa they might have defended it; but they abandoned the counties of *Nice*, *Savoy*, and *Provence*. The marquis de la Mina, a new Spaniſh general, was ſent to ſave the remains of the army. The Genoeſe petitioned, beſought him to ſtay, but they could obtain nothing.

Genoa is not a city, that ought, like Milan, to carry its keys to whomſoever approaches it with an army; beſides the works of the city, there is a ſecond rampart of more than two leagues extent, formed upon a chain of rocks.

Beyond this double encloſure, the Appenine mountains in every part ſerve it as a fortification. The poſt of the Bocchetta, by which the enemy advanced, had been always eſteemed impregnable; yet the troops which guarded this poſt made no reſiſtance, but went and joined the ſhattered army of the French and Spaniſh, which had filed off by Vintimiglia. The conſternation of the Genoeſe would not permit them even to attempt a defence; they had a conſiderable artillery, and the enemy no cannon at all; but they did not wait its arrival, and terror precipitated them into every extremity they had reaſon to fear. The ſenate diſpatched four ſenators to the defiles of the mountains, where the Auſtrians were encamped, to receive from general

Brown,

Brown, and the marquis *de Botta*, and *Adorno*, a Milaneſe, the empreſs queen's lieutenant-general, the terms they would be pleaſed to grant. They conſented to put them in poſſeſſion of the town in four-and-twenty hours; to ſurrender their own ſoldiers, the French and Spaniſh, priſoners of war; to deliver up all the effects belonging to the ſubjects of France, Spain, and Naples. They ſtipulated alſo, that four ſenators ſhould be delivered as hoſtages at Milan, that they ſhould pay upon the ſpot fifty thouſand *Genovins*, which make about 400,000 French livres, 'till the conqueror ſhould impoſe ſuch taxes as he thought proper.

They recollected that Louis XIV. had formerly exacted of the Doge of

Genoa, that he, with four ſenators, ſhould come to Verſailles, and make their excuſes to him; to the empreſs queen they added two; but ſhe placed her glory in refuſing what Louis had demanded; ſhe was of opinion that there was little honour in humbling the weak, and only thought of raiſing heavy contributions on them, which ſhe had more need of, than the vain ambition of ſeeing the Doge of Genoa, with ſix Genoeſe, at the feet of the Imperial throne.

Genoa was taxed at twenty-four millions of livres which ruined it totally. This republic little thought, at the beginning of the war, for the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, that ſhe ſhould be made the victim of it; but when the principal powers of Europe,

rope take arms, there is no little ſtate which ought not to tremble.

The Auſtrian power reduced in Flanders, but victorious in the Alps, was only embarraſſed about the choice of the conqueſt ſhe might make towards Italy. It appeared equally eaſy to enter Naples or Provence, and would have been eaſier to have kept Naples. The Auſtrian council believed that after having taken Toulon and Marſeilles, there would be no difficulty in reducing the Two Sicilies, and that the paſſage of the Alps might be cut off from the French.

The 28th of October 1746, marſhal Maillebois was upon the *Var*, which ſeparates France from Piedmont, with not quite 11,000 men. The marquis

de

de la Mina did not bring back nine thouſand. The Spaniſh general ſeparated at that time from the French, and turned towards Savoy, by the way of Dauphiny; the Spaniards being always maſters of this dutchy, which they were willing to preſerve, by abandoning the reſt.

The conquerors paſſed the *Var*, with near 40,000 men. The remains of the French army retired into Provence, in want of every thing; half the officers on foot, without ammunition, or implements for deſtroying the bridges, and even proviſions.

The clergy, chief inhabitants, and whole body of the people, ran to meet the Auſtrian detachments, to offer them contributions,

and

and preſerve themſelves and families from being plundered.

Such were the effects of the revolutions of Italy, during the conqueſt of the Low Countries by the French; and while prince Edward, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, took and loſt Scotland.

CHAP. XX.

The Auſtrians *and* Piedmonteſe *enter into* PROVENCE; *the* Engliſh *into* BRITANY.

THE flames of war which began towards the Danube, and almoſt at the gates of Vienna, and had then at firſt the appearance only of a few months duration, had reached, after ſix years, the coaſts of France; almoſt all Provence was become a prey to the Auſtrians. On one ſide, their detachments deſolated *Dauphiny*; on the other, they paſſed beyond the *Durance*. *Vence* and *Grace* were abandoned to pillage;

pillage; the Engliſh made deſcents into Britany, and their fleet anchored before Toulon and Marſeilles, to aſſiſt their allies in taking theſe two cities, while other ſquadrons attacked the French poſſeſſions in Aſia and America.

It was judged neceſſary to ſave Provence: marſhal Belleiſle was ſent there; but, at firſt, without money, and without an army. It belonged to him to repair the evils of an univerſal war, which he only had occaſioned. He ſaw nothing but deſolation, a frightened militia; ſhattered regiments, without diſcipline; who tore even the hay and ſtraw from each other, even the ſumpter mules dying for want of nouriſhment; the enemy having ranſacked and devoured every

every thing from the *Var*, to the rivers *d'Argent* and *Durance*. The infant don Philip, and the duke of Modena, were in the town of Aix in Provence, where they waited the efforts of France and Spain to releaſe them from this cruel ſituation.

Their reſources were yet at a great diſtance, their wants and dangers preſſing. The marſhal found great difficulty to borrow, in his own name, fifty thouſand crowns to ſupply the moſt urgent occaſions; and was obliged to do the offices of providing, and taking care of the ſtores of the army: afterwards, in proportion as the government ſent him ſome battalions and ſquadrons, he took poſſeſſion of poſts, by means of which, he

he ſtopt the progreſs of the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe. On one ſide, he covered *Caſtillane*, *Dragnignan*, and *Brignoles*, which the enemy were upon the point of taking.

In ſhort, at the beginning of January 1747, finding himſelf ſixty battalions, and two-and-twenty ſquadrons ſtrong, and being ſeconded by the marquis de la Mina, who furniſhed him with four or five thouſand Spaniards, he ſaw himſelf in a condition of driving the enemy out of Provence, by purſuing them from poſt to poſt. They were ſtill more embarraſſed than the marſhal on account of the failure of proviſions; this eſſential article renders the greateſt part of invaſions abortive: they had been furniſhed

niſhed at firſt with proviſions from Genoa, but the ſurpriſing revolution of that place at this time, which all hiſtory cannot parallel, deprived them of a neceſſary ſupport, and, by that means, obliged them to return to Italy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Revolution of GENOA.

AT this time there happened in Genoa an alteration as important as it was unforeſeen.

The Auſtrians uſed the rights of victory with great rigour; and the Genoeſe having exhauſted their reſources, and paid all their ſtock out of St. George's bank, which was ſixteen millions, requeſted a releaſe for the other eight; but on the 30th of November 1746, it was ſignified to them, on the part of the empreſs queen, that they muſt not only diſcharge that ſum, but alſo pay about the ſame ſum, for the maintenance of nine regiments quartered in the ſuburbs of St. Pierre,

of Arnes, of Biſagno, and in the neighbouring villages. On the publication of theſe orders, deſpair ſeized all the inhabitants; their commerce was ſunk; their credit loſt; their bank exhauſted; their magnificent country-houſes, which embelliſhed the environs of Genoa, pillaged; the inhabitants treated by the ſoldiers as ſlaves; in ſhort, they had nothing more to loſe except their lives, and there was not a Genoeſe, who, at laſt, did not appear fully determined to ſacrifice even that, rather than bear any longer a treatment ſo ſhameful and ſevere.

Genoa thus enſlaved, ſtill reckoned among her diſgraces the loſs of Corſica, which had ſo long revolted againſt them; the Malecontents of which, would, without doubt, be forever ſupported

ported by the conquerors. Corſica, which complained of being oppreſſed by Genoa, in the ſame manner as Genoa was by the Auſtrians, rejoiced in this chaos of revolutions, at the misfortunes of their maſters. This additional weight of afflictions, the loſs of Corſica, was felt only by the ſenators, who loſt nothing but a fantom of authority; but the reſt of the Genoeſe were a prey to thoſe real afflictions, which ſlavery brings along with it.

Some of the ſenators fomented ſecretly and adroitly, the deſperate reſolutions that the inhabitants ſeemed diſpoſed to take, in which they had occaſion for the greateſt circumſpection; becauſe, in all appearance, a raſh and ill-ſupported revolt, would

bring deſtruction to the town and ſenate. The emiſſaries of the ſenators contented themſelves with ſaying, to the moſt reputable of the people: "How long is it that you will wait "for the Auſtrians to cut your throats "in the arms of your wives and chil- "dren, and rob you of that ſmall re- "mainder of nouriſhment which you "have left. Their troops are diſ- "perſed without the walls, and in "the town only a few remain, who "keep the guard of your gates; you "are here upwards of thirty thouſand "capable of a coup-de-main; is it "not better to die than to be- "hold the ruin of your country?" Such diſcourſes animated the peo- ple; but as yet they did not dare to

ſtir,

ſtir, nor had any one had the courage to hang out the ſtandard of liberty.

Tne Auſtrians took cannons and mortars from the arſenal of Genoa for the expedition of Provence, and made the inhabitants draw them, who murmured, but ſtill obeyed. An Auſtrian captain having rudely ſtruck one of them, who did not pull ſtrong enough; this moment was a ſignal for the people to aſſemble, all was in motion, and they armed themſelves with every thing they could find, ſtones, ſticks, ſwords, fuſees, and all ſorts of inſtruments. Theſe people, who, when the enemy was at a great diſtance, had not the leaſt thought of defending their city, now began to defend it, when that enemy was maſter of it. The marquis de Botta, who was

at St. Pierre des Arenes, thought this commotion would ſubſide of itſelf, and that fear would ſoon take place of this violent fury. So that the next day he contented himſelf with reinforcing the guards of the gates, and ſending a few detachments into the ſtreets. The people aſſembled in a number ſuperior to the guard, ran to the palace, and demanded of the Doge the arms that were depoſited there, who made no anſwer; but the domeſtics ſhewed them another magazine to which they fled, forced it open, and armed themſelves; an hundred officers diſtributed themſelves in the market-place, the ſtreets were barricadoed; and the order, which the Auſtrians endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to reſtore in this ſudden and furious

rious inſurrection, by no means abated the ardour of the Genoeſe.

It appears, that on this and the following days, the conſternation, which had ſo long ſtruck the mind of the Genoeſe, had got poſſeſſion of the Germans. They did not attempt to quell the people with regular troops, but left them to encreaſe their number, and make themſelves maſters of the gates of St. Thomas and St. Michael.

The ſenate, not yet certain that the people would ſupport what they had ſo well begun, ſent a deputation to the Auſtrian general in St. Pierre des Arenes. The marquis *de Botta* was negociating when he ſhould have taken up arms, and told the ſenators that they ſhould arm the Genoeſe troops which were left diſarmed in

the town, join the Auſtrians, and fall upon the rebels at the ſignal he ſhould give: but it could not be expected that the ſenate of Genoa ſhould join the oppreſſors of their country to deſtroy its defenders, and compleat its ruin.

The Germans giving credit to the intelligences they had in the town, advanced to the gate of Biſagno, by the ſuburb of that name, but were received by a diſcharge of cannon and muſquetry. The inhabitants of Genoa now compoſed an army, beat the drum in the name of the whole people, and ordered all the citizens, under pain of death, to appear in arms, and range themſelves under the ſtandards of their reſpective quarters. The Germans were attacked in the

faux-

fauxbourg *de Biſagno*, and of St. Pierre *des Arenes* at once: the alarm-bell was heard, at the ſame time, in all the villages of the vallies, and the peaſants aſſembled to the number of twenty thouſand. A prince, named *Doria*, at the head of the people attacked the marquis *de Botta*, in St. Pierre des Arenes. The general, and his nine regiments, retired in diſorder, leaving four thouſand priſoners, and near one thouſand killed, all their magazines and equipages, and marched to the poſt of Bochetta, purſued continually by the ſimple peaſants: being forced at laſt to abandon this poſt alſo, and fly quite to Gavi.

Thus, by too much deſpiſing and overburdening the people, and being ſimple enough to believe that the ſenate

nate would join them, even againſt the inhabitants who ſupported the ſenate, the Auſtrians loſt Genoa. All Europe ſaw with ſurprize, that a weak body of people, totally unacquainted with arms, and whom neither their encloſure of rocks, nor the kings of France, Spain and Naples could ſave from the Auſtrian bondage, broke it themſelves without any ſuccours, and drove away their conquerors.

In theſe tumults many robberies were committed, and the houſes of thoſe ſenators, who were ſuſpected of favouring the Auſtrian intereſt were pillaged; but what was the moſt aſtoniſhing in this revolution was, that this ſame people, who had four thouſand of their conquerors, ſoldiers, in in priſon, did not rebel againſt their maſters.

maſters. They had chiefs, but they were appointed by the ſenate, and among them all, there was no one conſiderable enough to uſurp the authority long. The people choſe thirty-ſix citizens to govern them, but added four ſenators, Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomelini, and Fornari; and theſe four nobles ſecretly gave intelligence of all that paſſed to the ſenate, which, to appearance, no longer interfered in the government; though it actually preſided, and cauſed a public diſavowal to be made at Vienna, of the revolution it fomented at Genoa, and for which they dreaded the moſt horrible vengeance: its miniſter at that court declared, that the Genoeſe nobility had no hand in this alteration of affairs, which he ſtiled a revolt. The council of

of Vienna, acting ſtill as maſters, notified to him that the ſenate muſt inſtantly pay the remaining eight millions of the ſum exacted from the republic, and give thirty more for the damage ſuffered by their troops, reſtoring likewiſe all the priſoners, and executing juſtice on the ſeditious. Theſe orders, which an enraged maſter might have given to his rebellious and impotent ſubjects, only ſerved to confirm the Genoeſe in the reſolution to defend themſelves, in hopes of driving from their territories, thoſe whom they had turned out of their capital. Four thouſand Auſtrians, ſtill remaining as hoſtages in the priſons of Gonoa, gave them further encouragement. In the mean time, the Auſtrians, aided by the Piedmonteſe, by quitting Provence, threa-

threatened to retake Genoa. One of the Auſtrian generals had already reinforced his army with ſome troops of Albany, accuſtomed to fight among rocks. Theſe are the deſcendants of the ancient Epirotes, who paſs for as great warriors as their anceſtors. He gained theſe Epirotes by means of his uncle, the famous *Schulembourg*, who after having reſiſted Charles XII. king of Sweden, defended *Corfu* againſt the Ottoman empire: the Auſtrians, thus reinforced, repaſſed the Bochetta; they approached very near Genoa, and the country, to the right and left, was abandoned to the fury of irregular troops to ſaccage and devaſtation. All Genoa was in a conſternation, and terror produced a ſecret correſpondence with their oppreſſors; and, to add to this

this misfortune, there was a great diviſion, at this time, between the ſenate and the people. The city had proviſions, but no money; and eighteen thouſand florins per diem was wanting to defray the expences of the militia, who were ſkirmiſhing in the country, as well as thoſe who defended the city. The republic had not one experienced officer, nor any regular, diſciplined forces: no ſuccours could arrive, but by ſea, and then with the riſque of being taken by an Engliſh fleet, commanded by admiral Medley, who was maſter of its coaſts.

The king of France, however, ſent the ſenate a million of livres, by a ſmall veſſel which eſcaped the Engliſh fleet. The gallies of *Toulon* and *Marſeilles*, ſet ſail with ſix thouſand ſol-

ſoldiers: they put into *Corſica* and *Monaco*, partly on account of a ſtorm, but chiefly for fear of the Engliſh fleet: this fleet took ſix of them, with about a thouſand men; but at laſt the remainder reached Genoa, with about four thouſand five hundred French troops, which revived the hopes of the inhabitants.

Soon after the Duke *de Bouflers* arrived, and took upon him the command of the forces which defended Genoa, whoſe number daily encreaſed. This General had paſſed the Engliſh admiral unnoticed in a ſmall bark.

The duke *de Bouflers* found himſelf at the head of about eight thouſand regular troops, in a blockaded city, and expecting every moment to be beſieged; in which there was no regularity

larity, no proviſions, no powder; and the chiefs of the people at variance with the ſenate. The Auſtrians always had ſome ſpies in it; and the duke had as much trouble at firſt with thoſe he came to defend, as with thoſe he came to engage. He re-eſtabliſhed order every where, and proviſions were landed in ſafety, on paying a proper conſideration to ſome of the captains of the Engliſh fleet: thus private intereſt repairs public misfortunes. The Auſtrians had ſome friars in their party; the Genoeſe made uſe of the ſame arms with more ſucceſs. The confeſſors were engaged to refuſe abſolution to thoſe who wavered between their country and the Auſtrians. An hermit put himſelf at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by

his

his zeal in haranguing them, and by his example in fighting. He was killed in one of the ſkirmiſhes which happened daily, and died exhorting the Genoeſe to defend themſelves. The Genoeſe ladies pledged their jewels to the Jews, for money to defray the expences of the neceſſary fortifications.

But the greateſt of all encouragements was the valour of the French troops, whom the duke often ſent out to attack the enemy in their poſts, and even beyond the double works of Genoa. They ſucceeded in almoſt all theſe little ſallies, whoſe particular hiſtory, at that time, drew attention, but was afterwards loſt in the multiplicity of greater events.

The court of Vienna at laſt ordered the blockade to be raiſed. The duke

de Bouflers did not enjoy this glory and happineſs, for he died of the ſmall-pox on the 27th of June 1747, the very day that the enemy retired. He was the ſon of marſhal Bouflers, who was held in ſo great eſteem as a general, a virtuous man, and a good citizen in the time of Lewis XIV. the ſon poſſeſſing all his father's good qualities.

Genoa was no longer cloſely attacked, but it was ſtill threatened by the Piedmonteſe, who were maſters of all its environs; by the Engliſh fleet, which ſtopped up his ports; and by the Auſtrians, who were returning from the Alps, to fall upon her. It was neceſſary that marſhal *Belleiſle* ſhould come down into Italy, which would be attended with the greateſt

difficulties. Genoa ſeemed at the laſt extremity, the kingdom of Naples expoſed, all hopes loſt of eſtabliſhing don Philip in Italy, and the duke of Modena, in this caſe, appeared without reſource. Lewis XV. was not diſcouraged.

He ſent the duke *de Richlieu* to Genoa, with freſh troops and money. The duke eſcaped the Engliſh fleet in a ſmall veſſel, and landed at Genoa on the 27th of September 1747, his troops met with the ſame ſucceſs. The court of Madrid ſeconded theſe efforts, ſent about three thouſand men to Genoa, and promiſed the Genoeſe two hundred and fifty thouſand livres per month, which the king of France paid them. The duke *de Richlieu* in ſeveral engagements repulſed the

enemy; he fortified all the poſts, and ſecured the coaſts; when the court of England exhauſted itſelf to cruſh Genoa, as that of France did to defend it. The Engliſh miniſtry gave one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling to the empreſs-queen, and the ſame ſum to the king of Sardinia, to undertake the ſiege of Genoa. The Engliſh loſt the money they advanced: marſhal Belleiſle, after having taken the province of Nice, kept the Auſtrians and the Piedmonteſe in continual alarm, leſt while if they attempted the ſiege of Genoa, he ſhould fall upon them in the rear: thus the marſhal, and the combined armies of Auſtria and Savoy, impeded each other's progreſs.

CHAP. XXII.

Battle of EXILES, *fatal to the* French.

TO penetrate into Italy, in ſpite of the Auſtrian and Piedmonteſe armies, what way was to be taken? The Spaniſh general, La Mina, wanted to file off to Final, by a road on the ſide of the *Ponent*, where the troops could only paſs one by one; but had neither cannon nor proviſions. To tranſport the French artillery; to preſerve a communication of forty days march, by a route equally cloſe and ſteep, where every thing muſt be carried on the backs of mules; to be expoſed continually to the cannon of the Engliſh

fleet: all theſe difficulties appeared unſurmontable. The road of *Dimont* and of *Coni* was propoſed, but to beſiege *Coni* was an enterprize well known to be dangerous. It was determined to take the route by the neck of the *Exiles*, about twenty-five leagues from Nice, and it was reſolved to carry that place.

This enterprize was not leſs difficult; but there was no choice to be made in ſo many perils. Marſhal Belleiſle eagerly ſeized this occaſion to ſignalize himſelf; he poſſeſſed as much bravery to execute a project, as dexterity to conduct it; an indefatigable man, both in the cabinet and in the field. He ſet out and took his route back by Dauphiny; and penetrating afterwards towards the neck

of

of the *Aſſietto* on the road to Exiles, he found there twenty-one battalions of Piedmonteſe, who were waiting for him behind ramparts of ſtone and wood, fifteen feet high, and thirteen feet in thickneſs, lined with artillery. To carry theſe fortifications, Belleiſle had only twenty-eight battalions, and ſeven field-pieces, which could hardly be placed to advantage. They were yet emboldened to this enterprize by the remembrance of the battles of Montalban, and of Chateau-dauphin, which ſeemed to juſtify their audacity. There are no attacks equal in all reſpects, and it is more difficult and more fatal to attack palliſadoes, which muſt be plucked up by the hand, under a deſcending, continual fire, than to climb up and fight upon rocks; be-

ſides, the Piedmonteſe were well diſciplined; troops that had been commanded by the king of Sardinia were not to be deſpiſed. The action laſted two hours, that is to ſay, the Sardinians killed all the French they thought proper within that ſpace of time. Field-marſhal *Arnaud*, who led on a detachment, was one of the firſt who was mortally wounded, and likewiſe Mon. *de Grille*, major-general of the army.

Among all the bloody engagements which ſignalized this war on all ſides, this was one of thoſe which was the moſt to be deplored, on account of the premature loſs of ſeveral promiſing young men of diſtinction idly ſacrificed. The count *de Goas*, colonel of the regiment of *Bourbon*, periſhed in it; the mar-

marquis *de Donge*, colonel of the *Soiſſons*, received a wound, of which he died ſix days after the battle. The marquis *de Brienne*, after he had loſt an arm, marched up to the palliſadoes crying out, "There yet remains ano-"ther for the king's ſervice," and was killed. They reckoned three thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-five ſlain, and one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix wounded;—a fatality, contrary to the general event of battles, wherein the wounded exceed the number of the dead! A great number of officers periſhed; all the officers of the regiment of Bourbon were wounded or killed, and the Piedmonteſe did not loſe one hundred: *Belleiſle*, in deſpair, tore up the palliſadoes; and being wounded in both his hands, he ſtill

tugged

tugged at the ſtakes with his teeth, when he received a mortal blow. He had often ſaid that a general ought not to ſurvive his defeat, and he proved too clearly that this ſentiment was engraven on his heart. The wounded were carried to *Eriançon*, where the fatal diſaſter of this day was quite unexpected. Monſ. d'Audifret, the king's lieutenant, ſold his ſilver plate to relieve the ſick: his lady, though ready to lye-in, undertook the care of the hoſpitals, dreſſed the wounded with her own hands, and died in the diſcharge of this pious office;—a melancholy, but noble example, worthy to be conſecrated in hiſtory!

CHAP. XXIII.

The King of FRANCE *Maſter of* FLANDERS, *and victorious, in vain makes Offers of Peace. The taking of* DUTCH-BRABANT. *The Situation of Affairs makes a* Stadtholder.

IN this buſtle of events, ſometimes unfortunate, and ſometimes favourable; the king, victorious in Flanders, was the only ſovereign who deſired peace. Having always a right to attack the territories of the Dutch, and conſtantly threatening to do it, he thought to bring them over to his deſign of a general pacification, by propoſing to them a congreſs to be held in one of their own towns. Breda was fixed upon, and

and the marquis *Puiſieux*, the king's miniſter-plenipotentiary, was the firſt there. The Dutch ſent M. *Waſſenaar*, without having any determined view. The court of England, which did not incline to peace, could not publickly refuſe it. The earl of Sandwich, a grandſon, by the mother's ſide, of the famous Wilmot, earl of Rocheſter, was the Engliſh plenipotentiary. But while the allies of the empreſs-queen had miniſters at this uſeleſs congreſs, that princeſs did not think proper to ſend any. It was the intereſt of the Dutch more than of any other power, to promote the happy effect of theſe pacific appearances. A people wholly commercial, not warlike, who had neither good generals nor good ſoldiers, and whoſe beſt

troops were priſoners in France, to the number of thirty-five thouſand men; it might be imagined could have had no other object in view, than that of averting ſuch another ſtorm from their territories as they had ſeen fall upon Flanders. Holland was no longer a maritime power; its admiralties could not then put to ſea twenty men of war. The ſtates all perceived, that if the war broke into their provinces, they muſt elect a ſtadtholder, and conſequently a maſter. The magiſtrates of *Utrecht*, of *Dort*, and of the *Brill*, had always contended for a neutrality, and ſome other members of the ſtates were avowedly of the ſame opinion: in a word, it is certain that if the ſtates-general had taken a firm reſolution to reſtore peace to Europe,

rope, they might have effected it; they might have added this honour to that of having formerly made a flouriſhing free-ſtate of ſuch an inconſiderable country; and they had the power to acquire it a long time in their hands, but the Engliſh party, and general prejudice prevailed. I do not believe there are a people on earth who conquer ancient prejudices, with ſo much difficulty, as the Dutch nation. The eruption of Louis XIV. and the year 1672 were ſtill at heart; and I may venture to ſay, that I have diſcovered on more occaſions than one, that their minds, ſtruck with the ambitious haughtineſs of Louis XIV. could not comprehend the moderation of Louis XV. They never thought him ſincere; they regarded all his

pacific

pacific meaſures, and all his caution, either as proofs of weakneſs, or ſnares. The king, unable to perſuade them, was obliged to conquer a part of their country; while this uſeleſs congreſs was held, he ſent his forces into Dutch Flanders; a province diſmembered from the domains of the very houſe of Auſtria, whoſe defence they had undertaken, it commences a league below *Ghent*, and extends to the right and to the left; on one ſide to Middleburgh in Zealand, and on the other to the *Eſcaut* below Antwerp; it is lined with a number of ſmall forts, capable of reſiſtance. The king, before he took this province, carried his moderation ſo far, as to notify to the ſtates-general that he ſhould look only on theſe fortreſſes as pledges, which he ſhould engage to

reſtore

reſtore as ſoon as the Dutch ſhould ceaſe to foment the war, by granting free paſſage, and aids of men and money to his enemies.

No account was made of this indulgence, an irruption alone was perceived, and the march of the French troops made a ſtadtholder. What the Abbé *de la Ville* had told ſome of the high and mighty lords, who refuſed all terms of reconciliation, and wanted to change the form of government, when he was the king's envoy in Holland, now actually happened. "It "will not be yourſelves, but we who "will give you a maſter."

The people in general, on the news of an invaſion, demanded the prince of Orange for their ſtadtholder: the town of Tervere, of which he was lord,

began

began by nominating him; all the towns in Zealand followed the example. Rotterdam and Delft proclaimed him, and it was uſeleſs for the regents to oppoſe the multitude. The inhabitants of the Hague ſurrounded the palace where the deputies of the province of Holland and Weſt-Friezland aſſembled, the moſt powerful of the ſeven, which alone pays one half of the expences of the republic, and whoſe penſionary is looked upon as the moſt conſiderable perſon in the ſtate. It was neceſſary, in an inſtant, to hoiſt the flags of the houſe of Orange on the palace and on the town-houſe, to appeaſe the people, and two days after the prince was elected ſtadtholder. The commiſſion recites, " That in conſideration of the

" dreadful ſituation of affairs, they ap-
" point William-Charles-Henry Frizo,
" prince of Orange, of the branch of
" Naſſau-diſt, to be ſtadtholder, cap-
" tain-general, and high admiral."
He was ſoon acknowledged throughout the ſeven provinces, and received in that quality at the aſſembly of the ſtates-general. The terms in which the province of Holland had couched his election, ſhewed too plainly that the magiſtrates had appointed him againſt their will. It is ſufficiently known that every prince aims at being abſolute, and that every republic is ungrateful. The United Provinces which owed to the houſe of Naſſau the greateſt power that any petty ſtate ever attained, could ſeldom fix upon

the juſt medium between what they were indebted to the blood of their deliverers, and what they owed to their freedom.

Louis XIV. in 1672, and Louis XV. in 1747, created two ſtadtholders thro' terrour; and the inhabitants of Holland have twice re-eſtabliſhed this ſtadtholderſhip, which the magiſtracy wanted to deſtroy.

Their High Mightineſſes had kept the prince of Orange as ignorant of public affairs as they poſſibly could; and even when the province of *Guelders* had choſen him for ſtadtholder in 1722: although this character was at that time only a title of honour; though he could not diſpoſe of any employment, nor change

any garriſon, nor iſſue any orders; yet the States of Holland wrote in ſtrong terms to thoſe of *Gueldres*, to diſſuade them from a reſolution which they ſtiled fatal. One moment now deprived them of the power they had enjoyed for fifty years: the new ſtadtholder began, at ſetting out, with ſuffering the populace to pillage and pull down the houſes of the collectors of the exciſe, all relations and dependants of the Burgomaſters; and when the magiſtrates were thus attacked by the people, the military were obliged to reſtrain their fury.

The prince, quite tranquil amidſt theſe commotions, procured himſelf the ſame authority which had been given to king William, and thus ſecured his

power

power the firmer in his family. Not only the ſtadtholderſhip became hereditary to his male iſſue, but even to his daughters and their poſterity; for, ſome time afterwards, a law was paſſed that in default of the male iſſue, a woman might be ſtadtholder and captain-general, provided ſhe committed the exerciſe of the functions of her office to her huſband; and in caſe of minority, the widow of the ſtadtholder was to have the title of Governante, and to nominate a prince to perform the functions of the ſtadtholderſhip.

By this revolution, the United Provinces became a kind of mixt monarchy, leſs limited in many reſpects than thoſe of England, Sweden and Poland: thus, nothing turned out

in

in all this war, which had been imagined at firſt; and every thing, contrary to the expectations of all the powers engaged in it, actually came to paſs. The enterpriſes, the ſucceſſes, and the misfortunes of prince Charles-Edward in England, were perhaps the moſt ſingular of any of thoſe events that aſtoniſhed all Europe.

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